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# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Memphis Program  
Eyes Area Puzzles

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# National Municipal Review

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## *News of the League*

# Memphis Program Eyes Area Puzzles

Citizen leaders and experts will come to grips with problems of metropolitan areas in several sessions at the National Conference on Government at Memphis November 11 to 14.

At least four of the twenty or more sessions of the Conference will be devoted to phases of the metropolitan problem, program planners have decided. One session will deal with the state's responsibility for helping to cope with the problem. Another will be concerned with the changing role of the county. Two others will seek to establish tested methods of how to conduct a metropolitan area study by a thorough examination of recent and current experience drawn from surveys.

Other sessions, all of which will be held at the Peabody Hotel, Conference headquarters, will provide help to citizen leaders, public officials and educators on a variety of problems facing state and local government. Among these will be:

The task of charter commissions in modernizing city charters,

Conducting campaigns to win public understanding and acceptance for a proposed charter,

Best practice in the operation of the council-manager form of government,

A clinic on municipal finance and credit,

The press as civic educator,

(Continued on page 368)

Laying plans for National Conference on Government, recent luncheon in Memphis was attended by 83 representatives of civic and other organizations. Photo shows Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML assistant director, speaking. Others at head table are, left to right: City Commissioners Stanley Dillard and John T. Dwyer; Mayor Edmund Orgill; R. A. Trippeer (partly hidden by lecturer), general chairman of Conference; Dr. Henry B. Gotten, of Civic Research Committee; Walter Chandler, former mayor.





Future faculty members of Institute of Public Administration at Thammasat University, Thailand, hear Richard S. Childs discussing the longest ballot in the world (Cleveland's) in the Osborn Room during a discussion with League staff members.

## Thai Educators Visit League

Sixteen public administration students from Thailand visited the League headquarters June 11 to learn first hand about the League and civic organizations in this country. The group is participating in a two-year graduate training program at Indiana University under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration. The students have completed one year of study. At the end of the second year they will return to Bangkok to become faculty and staff members of the newly established Institute of Public Administration at Thammasat University.

The students, who included three women, have diversified backgrounds with some having been faculty members at Thammasat, while others have had experience in the government service or in the practice of law.

The Thai students have taken several field trips during the past year and it is planned that they will spend an interne period in state and local government offices in this country. They were accompanied by Professor Richard F. Crabbs of the Indiana University Thailand Public Administration Program.

## Attend Meetings

John P. Keith, League senior associate, took part in an Industry-Community Relations Conference sponsored by New York University at Gould House, Westchester County, New York. Representatives of major corporations heard case presentations and discussed management's role in community relations.

John E. Bebout, assistant director, attended the workshop of Effective Citizens Organization in Princeton, described in a note on page 356.

## All-America Flight

Air Force recruiters in Scranton recently formed an "All-America City Flight" for 50 men who enlisted from the Scranton area, according to a news report.

Men joining the special flight were told they would remain together throughout their indoctrination and basic training at Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio.

Scranton citizens received the All-America City Award in 1953. The other 65 winners since the contest was inaugurated in 1949 remain to be heard from.



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## Editorial Comment

### A Lesson in 'Practical' Politics

**P**HILADELPHIA, which for half a century endured deeply partisan spoils politics, has been getting a liberal education recently in what makes — and unmakes — good government.

For as long as anyone could remember, one party controlled the government and used the public payroll to reward and retain the services of ward "leaders." The minority party starved.

When, on the heels of scandals that shook the old city hall, the traditionally minority party came to power in 1950, it did so as the champion of good government. Also adopted was a new city charter with a strong merit system that chose city employees on the basis of competitive examinations and encouraged a career system.

The first administration of the new majority held firm against suggestions that the merit system provisions be weakened. The second administration listened to "the boys" and backed proposed amendments that would begin to weaken the charter by permitting the political appointment of 600 employees, the elimination of prohibitions against political activity by city employees and permission to run for office while occupying another elective office.

Citizen organizations rallied to the defense of the charter. The first two amendments were ruled out by the

courts, the third was overwhelmingly defeated. In the process of the historic battle, Philadelphians were treated to a great deal of wholesome education in practical political realities.

A good sample was in the *Civic Affairs* bulletin of the Committee of Seventy, dynamic public watchdog organization for 52 years. Under the title, "The Party Leaders Need Your Help," the bulletin suggested:

"You can do both political parties a big favor on April 24 by helping to defeat the three charter amendments. The doling out of patronage jobs can be a big headache for any political leader. Ask Mr. Green or Mr. Duffy, the Democratic and Republican party leaders in Philadelphia. They will no doubt tell you that in some areas of the city nearly everybody with a few votes in his family thinks he is 'deserving' when there is a soft city job to be had. How would you like to have 6,116 party workers and 104 ward leaders on your neck for a patronage job in city hall if you had only 585 to hand out? It would be an unfair assignment to hand to a man even with the wisdom of a Solomon.

"Every one of the 52 ward leaders of the victorious party would try to prove that 'his boys' racked up the biggest majorities, or held down the other party's vote in the last municipal election. Each would want the lion's share of these sinecure jobs.

Take 'the boys' who expect to be paid off for their political activity on election day. How do you think they would feel if they did not get a cut of the spoils of victory? Would this kind of party follower still run around to magistrates' courts to do a little fixing for 'their' voters — or political errands for the doubtful ones they are trying to get to 'vote right'?

"It seems unfair that the voters of Philadelphia would add this tremendous 'burden' to the overworked party leaders. What they really need is the time to instruct the ward leaders and their followers in the program and policies of their parties. Help to make this time available to them by voting NO on the charter amendments."

## Election Frauds Can Be Stopped

**P**EOPLE are prone to believe that vote fraud<sup>1</sup> is something that used to be practiced in grandfather's day and only in the big (and therefore wicked) city. Not so. It is a game played from time to time almost anywhere and played much more often than a free country can afford to tolerate.

Corruption of the sacred ballot can be stopped. To do so, however, will require not only a more alert and indignant citizenry but also a substantial rewriting of many election codes despite the resistance of political organizations.

The "set a crook to watch a crook" philosophy implicit in the tradition of establishing bipartisan boards to administer election machinery has failed. This is not surprising, for election crooks, like others, can make bargains.

It should be clear by now that political groups who stand to profit

from the results of elections should not control them. Board control should be eliminated entirely and replaced by a single officer in charge of elections in the city or county. Precinct officials should not be chosen on a party patronage basis.

Officials chosen on a proper basis would be more likely to be watched by both the parties and by nonpartisan citizen groups and could be more easily brought to book.

A free democratic society must, above all, protect the sanctity of the ballot. There should never be any question about the integrity of elections.

It has been demonstrated again and again throughout American history that the first step in correcting a bad situation is to organize an operation so that it will be easy and natural for it to be handled efficiently and honestly.

If this is done with our conduct of elections, good citizens will see wrong-doing and will have a greater capacity for indignation.

<sup>1</sup> See "They'll Steal Your Vote," page 322, this issue.

# They'll Steal Your Vote

Widespread election frauds revealed in nation-wide survey; citizens warned how they may protect ballot.

By JACK HARRISON POLLACK\*

**Y**OUR sacred ballot may be stolen in this important election year. A recent coast-to-coast survey rolls up evidence of election frauds and reveals the ways in which dishonest politicians can rob you of a precious right.

During the 1952 presidential election at least a million votes were stolen, estimates the Honest Ballot Association. Its chief investigator for the past 27 years, George J. Abrams, warns, "Election frauds are increasing. Nearly every area in the United States — big city, small town, cracker-barrel village — has some type of election fraud. It may be in a national election or one involving local school boards, judges, police departments or highways."

In Washington, Samuel H. Still, a veteran investigator of election campaigns for congressional committees, adds: "Approximately 50 public figures who occupy high state and municipal offices today would not have won them had the elections been carried out according to the law."

Here are some typical examples of recent ballot thievery:

\* Mr. Pollack, free lance writer, is a former investigator for several United States Senate committees. Writing on politics and kindred subjects, his articles have appeared in *Reader's Digest*, *Collier's*, *This Week*, *Look* and many other publications of national circulation. He is a former president of the Society of Magazine Writers.

In Chicago on January 18, 1956, six men, including a Democratic precinct captain, were sentenced to from three to five years in federal prison for brazen vote frauds in the November 1954 election. An appeal is pending.

In Cincinnati one day earlier a presiding election judge was fined \$500 for ballot banditry in 1954. He escaped jail only because he was 77 years old. Two other election officials were indicted.

In June 1955, at Abingdon, Virginia, three men were found guilty of ballot stealing during the 1952 elections. Two were sentenced to jail; one was released on probation.

In Asheville, North Carolina, 41 U. S. Department of Justice indictments for vote frauds in Swain, Madison, Graham and Clay Counties were recently handed down. The 59 defendants are accused of election irregularities in November 1954.

Vote fraud convictions are generally difficult to obtain. The Department of Justice Civil Rights Section has to goad U. S. attorneys to prosecute such cases, and witnesses are frequently intimidated or bought off. Also, too often, local or state police departments and district attorneys wink at vote vandals who are members of the party in power. To arouse a community may take a shocking incident such as occurred in vice-ridden Phenix City, Alabama, in

June 1954, when a state attorney general was murdered in a vote-fraud scandal.

In coming months, ballot thieves will be dusting off their old tricks and perfecting new ones. To beat them at their own crooked game, you need to know their five most common election-fraud devices:

**PAPER BALLOT FRAUDS.** Paper ballots — which are still inexcusably used in approximately two-thirds of the United States — offer probably the greatest opportunity for fraud. Paper ballots are easy to change, easy to fake, easy to stuff. As a New Jersey ward heeler put it, "It ain't how the ballots go in that counts—it's how they come out!" In last year's Rhode Island election, Providence *Journal* reporters using mechanical pocket tabulators uncovered shocking examples of ballot stuffing.

#### **Mismarked Ballots**

In most states the slightest change, smudge or tear on a ballot will disqualify it. For example, if you mark your paper ballot with a check mark instead of the required "X," it may not be counted. If you erase your "X" in one square to put it in another, your ballot may be thrown out, even if you write the word "mistake" beside your erasure. If you use a fountain pen instead of the lead pencil provided, your vote may be disallowed.

A favorite trick of the crooked ballot counter, therefore, is to conceal a piece of pencil lead (with wax to make it stick) under a fingernail, a large ring or in the palm of his writing hand. While smoothing out the paper ballots before counting

them, he will mark additional crosses before other candidates' names — thus invalidating your honest ballot.

One of the most notorious abuses of paper ballots was the 1952 New Mexico "victory" of Democratic Senator Dennis Chavez over Republican Patrick J. Hurley, former secretary of war, by a margin of 5,000 votes. The election procedures were so loose that the law was violated incredibly. After a thirteen-month investigation costing the taxpayers \$200,000, the majority report of a U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections concluded: "At least 55,000 New Mexico citizens were deprived of their constitutional right to a secret ballot. . . . Sworn evidence of fraudulently altered ballots, in the nature of sworn testimony, sworn affidavits and signed statements, was secured in 33 precincts where 17,325 persons cast their ballots. . . . In Dona Ana, Lincoln and Otero Counties a district court judge illegally and prematurely burned the ballots."

The report recommended that the New Mexico Senate seat be declared vacant and that all questionable votes be thrown out — which would give victory to Hurley. But the full Senate, which is the final judge of its members' qualifications, by an almost straight party-line vote refused to set aside Senator Chavez' "election."

Some elections are so close that paper ballots — which are slow to be tabulated — can be manipulated to decide them. In the 1950 Michigan contest for governor between Democrat G. Mennen Williams and Republican Harry F. Kelly, most

Michigan newspapers reported a Kelly victory by 4,000 votes. But a recount gave the election to Williams by 1,154 votes out of more than 1,800,000 cast. One newspaper termed the event a "comedy of election errors."

A comprehensive nonpartisan study made four years later by the University of Michigan's Samuel J. Eldersveld and Albert A. Applegate concluded: "The law's requirements for ballot security were disregarded by election officials in a significant number of precincts involving more than 123,000 votes. Broken seals on ballot bundles and on boxes point to the possibility that illegal attempts may have been made to distort the results of the recount by tampering with ballots. In one case, testimony of election officials indicates that boxes and ballots were violated after having been properly sealed on election night."

#### The 'Slow Count'

Another paper ballot abuse may have changed the course of U. S. history, according to the Honest Ballot Association. In 1928 Franklin D. Roosevelt ran for governor of New York for the first time, against Republican Albert Ottinger. The Bronx was the only borough in New York City which then still used paper ballots.

"That was the year of the famous 'slow count,'" recalls investigator George Abrams. "Democratic Boss Ed Flynn's cronies sat quietly in the Bronx counting ballots at a snail's pace until 2 A.M., when the traditionally Republican upstate returns showed Ottinger's exact margin.

When the boys knew how many votes were needed for their candidate, they went to work. Republican ballots were thrown out under any pretext. Lead concealed under the fingernail and every other trick was used. In the morning, Roosevelt woke up governor with a 26,000 statewide plurality. He had a whopping 95,000 margin in the Bronx."

**VOTING MACHINE FRAUDS.** In recent years, voting machines have helped reduce election frauds in many communities. But they are required in general elections in only six states. Only four states make machines mandatory for crucial primaries — where a quarter of the states settle their elections.

Desirable as they are, voting machines aren't 100 per cent tamper-proof. "No voting machine guarantees against misuse and fraud," warns Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cinc' nati. Indeed, the voting machine has challenged ballot thieves to devise ingenious new tricks to outwit them.

One is to wedge a matchstick, hairpin or metal clip under a lever so that votes for a candidate fail to register. To record a vote, a lever must be pressed completely down.

Another widespread trick is to permit a hanger-on at the polls to manipulate the curtain release cord outside while you're inside. Your vote will not register if the curtains are not closed tight.

Voting machine finaglers may switch the cardboard labels which bear the candidates' names before the polls open. If this occurs, you unknowingly vote against your real choices. And clocks have been



changed to open the polls early so that ballot thieves could vote on machines before opposition watchers arrive.

Though a voting machine is as honest as a cash register or an adding machine, frail mortals take over to record the count. The figures can be misread, especially if there is collusion between the party watchers. For example, 100 votes for Candidate A can be called out for Candidate B — with the vote totals checking perfectly with that on the machine.

Furthermore, some outmoded machines are not locked internally and can be opened in the back, enabling poll sharpies to see how many votes their party is behind — in case they need to scramble some extra ones.

**REGISTRATION FRAUDS.** Countless vote frauds still stem from phony registration. Before the November 1955 election, Pittsburgh's District Attorney James F. Malone warned: "Many precincts carry the names of persons who have died or have moved away from the addresses shown on the lists." In November 1954 New York State Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein charged there was "a mass effort to pad registration rolls on a scale unprecedented in twenty years."

In Chicago after the February 1955 primary, a secret tape-recording in a polling place during the ballot counting revealed this unashamed confession: "Sure, I voted three times. My wife voted three times. My son voted three times."

In the transient parts of big cities especially, "ghost" voters are frequently registered from flophouses,

office buildings, vacant lots, bars, beauty parlors, Turkish baths, garages, mental institutions and graveyards. In New York a few years ago, the Honest Ballot Association's George Abrams visited a Bowery flophouse from which 35 voters were registered. "How can 35 men sleep on eight cots?" he asked the clerk.

"They sleep in shifts."

"But even in three shifts you can sleep only 24," Abrams argued.

"Okay, only 24 live here. Scratch eleven from the list."

In New Orleans, ballot buccaneers were indicted for "voting" the names of fishermen who, on election day in 1950, were at sea.

#### 'Voting the Books'

Ballot thieves also "vote the books" — *i.e.*, vote the names of persons who are properly registered. For example, if you haven't shown up at the polls by, say, six P.M., a precinct worker may phone and ask if you are planning to vote. If not, he or a crony will obligingly cast a ballot in your name. Should you appear later you may be told: "You already voted!" In some communities, if you protest, a party hack may threaten you with jail and have a nearby cop back him up.

After a special election in Providence, Rhode Island, in July 1953, a door-to-door canvass by representatives of the *Providence Journal* revealed that hundreds of bona fide voters were recorded as having voted when they had not done so. Many of the non-voters signed affidavits stating that persons other than themselves had voted in their names. As a result of these disclosures, five

Providence election officials were indicted.

The most effective method of protecting your right to vote is through your signature — which can be compared with that on the registration record. Unfortunately, signature identification is standard procedure in only 21 states. But where it is used, far from slowing up voting as critics a generation ago predicted it would, it has helped scare off ballot crooks and expedite the whole voting process.

#### A Sound System

Signature identification is the foundation of a permanent registration law which is a convenience for the honest voter. In its suggested provision for a statute, the National Municipal League — which has long urged signature identification and permanent registration — recommends that a voter personally register by duplicate signature before a trained clerk of the registration office at any time of the year, then sign again each time he votes. One such registration should suffice until a voter dies, moves or persistently fails to vote. In short, once registered, you stay registered as long as you vote with reasonable regularity.

"ASSISTANCE" FRAUDS. Nearly every state has a law (often dating from the 19th century) providing for assistance to illiterate or physically handicapped voters. Using this as a pretext, a partisan election official can offer to help not only the venal, ignorant or intimidated voter, but the non-handicapped one as well. "Can I show you how to operate this machine?" he will ask. If he goes

behind the curtain to "help" you, it will likely be to vote for you. And if you rebel against this "assistance" he may innocently claim that he misunderstood your instructions.

In Chicago, the "assistance" abuses have been so flagrant that the Joint Civic Committee on Elections recently urged that aid to so-called illiterate voters be abolished.

ABSENTEE BALLOT FRAUDS. All states but one allow overseas servicemen to secure absentee ballots. Thirty-nine states give the same privilege to sick persons and others "necessarily or unavoidably" absent from their homes on election day. Worthy as this provision is, it nevertheless is an open door to fraud, especially when party aides can pick up hundreds of absentee ballots. These votes are counted separately or not turned in until election day.

In western North Carolina, where absentee ballots often decide close elections, abuses have been flagrant. For example, in rural Clay County, where indictments will soon be prosecuted, the total vote for sheriff during the 1954 election was 3,349; absentee ballots numbered 1,076. Sometimes absentee ballots are bought from impoverished or intimidated farmers. The price paid has recently been as high as \$50.

In Cincinnati not long ago, a Republican ward captain visited an old folks' home to pick up a number of absentee ballots. "Don't bother sealing them," he told the aged voters. "I'll take them back with me and mail them in for you."

This November it has been predicted that a record peacetime num-

ber of three million absentee ballots will be cast by servicemen and civilians. Ironically, since World War II the patriotic relaxing of state standards to make absentee voting easier has provided a field day for vote-stealing enemies of democracy.

What can the average citizen do to stop election frauds?

#### Some Warnings

1. Vote early in the day, and don't let anyone interfere with you inside or outside the polling place. Give poll hangers-on the silent treatment. Don't let anybody talk you out of voting the way you want to.

2. If you vote by paper ballot, mark it neatly and accurately, fold it carefully and watch attentively while it is placed in the proper box. If you make a mistake, obtain a new ballot from election officials.

3. If you use a voting machine, make sure that the curtain handle is swung all the way closed when you are in the booth. Otherwise you may cast a blank ballot. Press the voting levers all the way down.

4. If you vote by absentee ballot, be sure to seal your ballot with wax, mucilage or scotch tape.

5. During registration week, it is every citizen's privilege to inspect the rolls to see if there are any phony names on them. Should you be unable to vote on election day, you also have the right to check the registration books *after* election to ascertain

whether anybody voted in your name.

6. If you witness any violation of the election laws, report it immediately to election judges and also, if necessary, to your local newspaper, district attorney or any organization in your town interested in honest elections.

7. Don't apathetically shrug, "Oh, the politicians control elections, anyway." Volunteer your services to your local organizations working for honest elections and better election laws. Some of them recruit volunteer watchers who dramatically help reduce vote frauds. In New York, the Honest Ballot Association will recruit 5,000 volunteer watchers this November. The HBA has shown unions, school boards, churches, stockholders, veterans and other groups how to conduct honest elections. In Chicago, a watcher for the Joint Civic Committee on Elections furnished valuable evidence which helped to convict the recently imprisoned vote crooks.

The crook who steals your vote is as reprehensible as one who burglarizes your home. In a larger sense, ballot thieves are traitors. Since the first written ballot was cast in America at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1629, honest elections have been our heritage — a symbol of our birthright. It is our duty as citizens to protect that heritage by doing everything in our power to help stamp out election frauds.

# Washington Votes Again

District of Columbia holds first election since 1873; elects presidential delegates, local party officials.

By RICHARD M. SCAMMON\*

ON OCTOBER 14, 1873, electors in the District of Columbia voted for members of the District House of Delegates. These votes were the last to be cast in Washington for nearly a century. The withdrawal of local home rule by Congress soon erased the House of Delegates and the District was not to cast a vote again until this year of 1956. During the long electoral drought many a Washingtonian maintained a legal residence outside the District so that he might still exercise his franchise while living within it.

The first modern-day voting in the District of Columbia represented little to those accustomed to voting for president, governor, congressman and their own state and local officials. Actually the voting of May 1, 1956, though called a primary, was an election solely of Republican and Democratic party officials. The winners in the District won't fight each other in November. Those elected as delegates and alternates to the national conventions will represent their constituents at Chicago and San Francisco in August. Those chosen to be national and district committee officials will operate their party responsibilities only, for no one

was chosen to fill a public office. But every one connected with the election — political leaders, administrators, men and women who reported the event — felt the voting was "a step in the right direction." With election machinery set up and functioning, the hope of Washingtonians is that next time the voters will be choosing more than just party officials.

This 1956 election represented the culmination of many years of work by District franchise seekers. Demands for representation in Congress and in the Electoral College or for locally elected municipal officials have received much public attention in the past, and measures for election legislation have just as regularly been brought before Congress. None of these managed to get to the White House until 1954, when both houses agreed on a primary bill which was later vetoed by President Eisenhower. In his veto message the president indicated the only objectionable provision was one exempting federal employees from the Hatch Act in the case of District elections.

With this exemption struck out, a new bill passed Congress last summer and was signed by the president in August. In its final form the new legislation authorized appointment of a board of elections to supervise the holding of officially regulated party primaries—actually, party elections. No direct presidential preference

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voting was permitted, but arrangements were made to place on the official ballot any referendum question party authorities might certify to the board of elections.

Directly this legislation came into effect the commissioners of the District of Columbia were faced with a problem which must be unique in the modern world. Without any local prior experience within the memory of a living voter, they were to set up a modern voting system for a great metropolitan area. In all other such areas the franchise has come gradually and people have been educated to the use of the ballot. In Washington the operation was to start from nothing and develop full blown within a period of less than a year. But the District commissioners took hold of the problem with vigor.

#### **Board Begins Work**

Even though no funds were provided in the enabling legislation, a board of elections was soon appointed to get detailed work under way. Since the District's first balloting was to be a purely party affair, the local party organizations suggested candidates. Two local Republicans, Newell Ellison and Colonel West Hamilton, and a Democrat, Arnold Levy, were sworn into office in October. The new board was especially fortunate in being able to have as its consultant Sturgis Warner, a local attorney who had seen the primary bill through Congress and had done much spade work for District elections.

First problem was to organize the registration of voters, and public hearings and private sessions were

held over a period of weeks to develop the best possible forms and techniques for registration.

One factor working against a large registration was that the law setting up these elections had established them as "closed" affairs, with the registration system requiring each voter to publicly state his or her party preference. Moreover, only the registrations of those with some party preference could be accepted. When registration was opened in December, a few voters sought to register without party declaration and the necessity of publicly stating party preference probably held down the number of those registering. In a city as sensitive to politics as Washington some potential voters felt apprehension at publicly stating their views, whether those fears had a basis in fact or not.

Another factor affecting registration was that of residence. In the past, private "primary" elections organized by the parties themselves had been lax in the matter of just who had or had not voted "at home," but the new legislation was clear and precise. No one who claimed a voting registration outside the District could be registered as a voter inside it. With the District voting limited to party officials, there were thousands who chose to maintain their voting rights for president and Congress as exercised "back home." As one citizen put it, "I can vote against more people I don't like at home than I can vote against people I don't like here."

Third factor working against a high registration was general voter apathy in a city with many tran-



**Geographical Note:** The Potomac River isolates the American Capital from American principles.

Reprinted by permission from *The Evening Star* of Washington, D. C.

sients, a voter apathy heightened by the limited character of the elections.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that early estimates of total registration were low. Based on the participation in privately organized precinct meetings (Republicans) and primaries (Democrats) in 1952, some felt that no more than ten or fifteen thousand would register. This, in a total population of some 850,000, could hardly be called impressive, even allowing for the factors at work to keep down registration.

When the voter lists were first opened in early December — only four months after enabling legislation had been provided — even this ten-to-fifteen-thousand figure seemed optimistic. It appeared optimistic through mid-winter — only 3,100 had registered by the end of February. But as party organizations and civic groups increased their activity and the citizens of the District became better informed about Washington's new election, the tide of

registration rolled in heavily. At the final count over 58,000 were on the books — 31,700 Democrats, 26,400 Republicans and a few for minor parties. Since none of the latter approached the 100 minimum number of registered voters' signatures required for a candidate to have his name on a party ballot, only the Democratic and Republican parties participated in the voting.

Of course, it had been clear from the beginning of the registration campaign that the parties themselves were going to be an important factor in building up a large registration, but it was probably the contests within the parties that counted most in getting out the registration in the spring and the vote itself on May 1. In addition to the national committeeman and national committeewoman elected by each party, the Democrats added an alternate for each position. For their respective conventions, the Republicans chose six delegates and six alternate delegates, the Democrats picked twelve and twelve. The Republicans chose 25 "state" committee members, the Democrats 26 "central" committee members. The Republicans carried no party policy questions on their ballot, the Democrats had two — for or against home rule, for or against unit rule voting in their national convention.

#### Many Contests

Early in the campaign season it appeared as though contests might be at a minimum. There were indications that agreed-upon slates might be made up for almost all positions. As time developed, however, so did



contests. On the Democratic side the nation-wide fight between Governor Stevenson and Senator Kefauver for the presidential nomination led to the entry of delegate and alternate delegate slates pledged for each.

For the Republicans there was no contest over the renomination of President Eisenhower but a local conflict did develop in the effort of George P. Lamb to unseat Clyde Garrett as Republican national committeeman for the District. Lamb charged Garrett and the District Republican organization with being Taftites at heart and not really for Eisenhower. Garrett and his associates replied that their group was a combination of all legitimate Republicans, that Lamb was really a Democrat and that Lamb had never been of any assistance to District Republicans in the past.

#### Registration Rises

Voter registration rose apace as the contests within the two parties became more and more spirited. In March, and again in April, a number of local area registration substations were opened to supplement the downtown registration offices. On the closing day for registration long lines of people stood awaiting their chance to become voters — to make a claim to first-class citizenship.

While registration was going forward the elections board had to face up to the whole range of problems inherent in setting up a modern election system *de novo*. First of all, a money appropriation had to be secured and Congress did vote \$40,000 in February. With these funds the board could pay its registration

teams and get under way the great multitude of election details. Ballots had to be devised, precincts set up, card files organized, registration forms allocated; questions of law and policy had to be settled almost on an hour-to-hour basis.

Happily, the elections board was administering a law from which much detail had been omitted and by which it was allowed a real measure of latitude and authority. Though the board was necessarily guided in much of its work by the legislative history and background of the District election law, it could move forward in many areas on its own. For example, there was no extensive detail in the law requiring massive ballot boxes or huge head-high voting booths. As a result, Board Consultant Sturgis Warner was able to devise shoulder-level knock-down packing board cubicles which could be set up on long tables for the use of voters. For an elector who has had to stand up while wrestling with an intricate voting machine or wading through a blanket-size ballot, it must have been a joy to sit comfortably at a table while doing his duty as a voter. Ballot boxes, too, were made of corrugated board and they, like the voting cubicles, represented a huge saving in funds over the facilities normally used on election day.

The law did impose one real burden on the board. Only fifteen days were allowed between the close of registration and election day. Even for a well established election machine the time would have been short. For a completely new operation it was almost catastrophic.

However, by using IBM cards as the basis of voter registration much of the clerical work of making up voter lists was mechanized. Had it not been for this "automation" of registration it is quite possible the voting would have had to be postponed.

To add to its administrative headaches, the board was faced with political ones as well. The law established a minimum of 100 signatures on any nominating petition for a candidate for party office. With 39 Republicans and 54 Democrats to be elected, petition circulating was a massive enterprise, even though each registered voter could sign as many petitions as there were jobs open. As the time for filing petitions closed, the regular Republican organization charged that the George Lamb "insurgent" petitions had been improperly signed and that names of candidates had been added to the petitions after they had been signed by voters. For a time it looked as though the Republican contest would be fought out before the board rather than before the voters, but a compromise was effected within Republican ranks and campaigning resumed with most of the Lamb candidates withdrawing but with Lamb himself continuing to contest the job of Republican National Committeeman Clyde Garrett.

With a total of 140 candidates filed in the various contests, campaigning got under way with increased vigor. Though Washingtonians had been accustomed to the opening of a downtown absentee voter information headquarters by each party in election years, this was the District's first experience with full-scale pa-

rades, calliopes and speech-making. Registered voters were approached via letter, newspaper ads and all the usual paraphernalia of vote-getting. Finally, on election day itself, the contending groups had watchers distributing literature — especially sample ballots — outside the polls. No elector could say he had not been given every opportunity to get full information on campaign issues and personalities.

#### Voting Pattern

Polling itself differed little from the same operation in other parts of the country. Most voting places were located in schools; the usual morning line awaited the first opening of polling cubicles; the usual mid-morning slack developed in most areas. In one or two ways the District voting pattern did vary from that of its more experienced neighbors. Since the ballot was extremely long and complex, especially on the Democratic side, many voters took much longer to vote than they would have in some other jurisdiction. Most electors brought sample ballots with them, propped these up inside the cubicle and carefully went to work on their own official ballot. In some cases an elector took as much as twenty or thirty minutes to vote, but this presented little difficulty to the local election administrators. With the cubicle arrangement, sixteen could be accommodated without difficulty in a typical precinct. Indeed, in some areas with a large registration, "double precincts" with two sets of judges and 32 voting cubicles were authorized.

With the long ballot, the District

board decided to begin counting before the polls actually closed, and a special "counting team" was sent to each precinct to go to work at five in the afternoon, three hours ahead of closing time. These teams were composed of volunteers who received a small fee as "dinner money" but were not given full compensation as were the daytime precinct election judges. As circumstances developed, even the head start of the counting teams did not suffice to finish up the job. With 69 precincts set up to take in the votes of 58,000 electors, many of the teams found they could not finish up the job in one evening.

#### **Few Blank Ballots**

Most ballots were voted completely, with few blanks, and relatively few were invalid. With no "slate" single cross mark voting and without straight tickets, each "X" on each ballot had to be tallied individually. This meant that the average Republican ballot took a minute to tally, the average Democratic ballot at least two. By late in the evening of election day it was clear the counting job would not be finished soon. Fortunately, the winners were indicated early — the regular Republicans in the GOP contests, the Stevenson supporters on the Democratic side.

After a day's respite more volunteers took up the count and in a week all 47,000 ballots had been

tallied. A total of 81 per cent of Washington's registered voters had gone to the polls — a record for primary elections this year and possibly for any year. The first official voting in Washington in over 80 years was finished and the new election machinery had passed the test of actual practice. There had been problems from the very beginning — organization, registration, personnel, financing, all the thousands of details involved in setting up a brand new voting operation. But all had been met. Washington had taken its first modern election day in stride and was ready for whatever the next step might be in extending the franchise to District residents.

Civic spirit was perhaps the most important motivation in getting this operation under way and making it a success. Frequently Washington is referred to as a "spiritless" city, rootless and uncoordinated in its municipal behaviour. But certainly this first voting experience showed the willingness of great numbers of "rootless" Washingtonians to pitch in and help make democracy work in the District of Columbia. The board of elections, its technical assistants, District government employees of all departments, the Republican and Democratic parties, the volunteers and the voters themselves all deserve real credit for participating in this first effort at a modern franchise for the federal city.

# Today's Urban Regions II

What is the role of the state and federal governments in securing better government for metropolitan areas?

By CHARLTON F. CHUTE\*

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—This article is the second of two which together comprise the author's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Seattle, July 26, 1955. The first appeared in the *Review* for June, see page 274.

**T**RADITIONALLY, the states have been assigned a significant but minor role in securing better government for metropolitan areas. The state's part was said to be largely legislative, i.e., to remove legal shackles that prevented local governments taking necessary action and to pass needed new legislation to clothe local governments, or a new metropolitan government, with power adequate to meet their problems. The state's role was legislative because these problems were regarded as being those of local government.

Should the state, through its administrative departments, aid in the solution of the governmental problems of metropolitan areas? Writing in 1925, Thomas H. Reed, the dean of political scientists in this field, said, "We must reject, therefore, direct state administration of metropolitan affairs as a general solution of the metropolitan problem." This is for the reason that state administration "is too distinct a violation of the principle of home rule to be accepta-

ble to the public." In saying this Dr. Reed recognized that such administrative agencies as the Boston Metropolitan District Commission, the members of which were appointed by the governor, had given service that was generally satisfactory.

This point of view has received general acceptance in the literature of the subject, as indicated by the excellent writings of Paul Studenski and Victor Jones.

In the 30 years that have passed since Dr. Reed made the observation just quoted, our metropolitan areas have grown and changed in many ways, however, and it is now clear to the realistic observer that state government is playing a most important role in the government of urban centers.

Many states are now discharging responsibilities for the solution of problems in the government of metropolitan areas for at least four reasons:

1. Because they provide certain kinds of direct state administrative services;
2. Because the population of many important states is mainly metropolitan;
3. Because many metropolitan area problems which were once local have now become, or are becoming, statewide or even broader in character;
4. Because the most effective way

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yet discovered to solve metropolitan area governmental problems that cross state lines is through interstate compact.

The rise of state government as a service agency in the last century has been a major factor in reducing the pressure for political integration in metropolitan areas. Here are two brief examples, roads and schools. Those familiar with the background of the expansion of large American cities between 1850 and the end of the century know that suburbs were annexed to the city so their residents might receive the benefit of city services. In these early days most suburbs could not afford a high school and grade school children walked to their classes over roads frequently deep in mud or clogged with snow. The rural family was isolated in bad weather. The city was the only governmental unit that provided hard surfaced streets and possessed public transportation such as the horse car, and later the electric street car.

Today people live in the open country or in very small communities and receive these benefits that a century ago were reserved for city residents. Massachusetts, in 1894, was the first state in modern times to provide hard surfaced roads. Now, a person can live in the open country on a state highway and easily drive to work in the city; his children will be transported to a union school in a bus, both school building and bus transportation being made possible by state grants-in-aid. He will use an auto, bus or train, like his city cousin, for public transportation, for the street car in many cities has fol-

lowed the horse car to the scrap heap. The regional network of highways near the big city has usually been built by the state. For quick driving from one metropolitan area to another the motorist will frequently use a state turnpike or toll road. It is worth noting that the dramatic new freeways through the city of Los Angeles were not built by the city or by a metropolitan area government but by the state.

Such developments of state administrative services and other facilities have robbed many of the old arguments for consolidation of suburbs with central cities of their compelling potency.

#### Police Situation

This subject should not be left without a word regarding police and the metropolitan area. The only example of a true metropolitan police force, which covered New York City and some adjoining territory, had a brief existence from 1857 to 1870. Today, in all the United States there is no instance of a local police force whose jurisdiction is coterminous with a metropolitan area! By way of contrast, every state now has a state police force, most of which possess complete police powers, and all except those of Texas and Massachusetts created since 1873. Here is a score of 46 to nothing.

How is this remarkable development of the administrative services of the state to be explained? Why were not metropolitan area governments created to do this job? We are developing some of the answers in our study at the Institute of Public Administration, but time limita-



tions do not permit their discussion here.

It is clear from data presented in an earlier article,<sup>1</sup> that the population of many important states is mainly metropolitan.

We should not be surprised, therefore, to find the state of California liberally aiding the counties in the San Francisco Bay area in analyzing their traffic problem, nor to find that the state government of New Jersey transports and sells water to cities and industries, nor to find that New Jersey established an air pollution control agency in the state government by law in 1954.

Dr. Richard L. Woodward of the U. S. Public Health Service has written (*Public Health Reports*, May 1955, page 433):

Air pollution control in the United States has traditionally been a function of municipal governments. . . . With the growth of metropolitan areas and the movement of industries to suburban sites, it has become apparent that a municipality frequently is an unsuitable unit for operating an effective air pollution control program. . . . In a number of instances the county is not an ideal unit for air pollution control work. . . . In view of the position of the states under our form of government, the state is the logical unit for adoption of laws, development of programs and assistance to local governmental units in the actual abatement of pollution.

#### Role of Federal Government

Our traditional literature on the government of metropolitan areas has little or nothing to say about the

part to be played by the federal government. It is only in recent years that we have come to see its emerging role. A few examples follow.

World War II saw enemy bombs destroying American property and life on our own territory and it was clear that time had changed the character of our ocean bulwarks. Later, whole cities elsewhere were leveled by new types of explosives. Obviously the federal government must protect our country, including our urban regions, from enemy attack. Today this means military installations within our urban regions and in other metropolitan areas.

Our largest urban regions have grown around port cities — Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle and those on the Great Lakes — Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. We must never forget that the waters of these ports are, in many important ways, under the jurisdiction and administration of the federal government. Also, we must remember that, legally, the consent of the Congress is necessary to the making of an interstate compact.

Perhaps the most interesting role, however, is the part played, and to be played, by the federal government as arbiter over conflicts between the metropolitan areas in different states. For instance, on May 22, 1929, New Jersey filed a bill of complaint in the Supreme Court of the United States alleging that the city of New York proposed to take from the watershed of the Delaware River 600 m.g.d. (million gallons daily) of water and

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, June 1956, page 274.



that this proposal would irreparably injure the state of New Jersey and its people. New Jersey asked for an injunction.

Over the objection of all parties, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania was allowed to intervene, stating that many of its inhabitants and cities must look to the Delaware for their present and future water needs.

Here is an example of not only an interrelationship between the metropolitan areas of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania but of active conflict!

For our present purposes it will be sufficient to say that the U. S. Supreme Court permitted New York City to take from the Delaware, not the 600 m.g.d. asked for, but 440 m.g.d. The court approved of such a division of the water on the basis of the legal "principle of equitable division," rather than on the basis of the law of riparian rights in the affected states.

The U. S. Supreme Court held that the division of the water it has allowed "shall not constitute a prior appropriation and shall not give the state of New York and the city of New York any superiority of right over the state of New Jersey and the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the enjoyment and use of the Delaware River and its tributaries." Moreover, the U. S. Supreme Court retained jurisdiction over the case so as to take whatever action it might deem necessary in the future.

Said Mr. Justice Holmes: "Of course in that particular as in some others New York takes the risk of the future. If the War Department should in future change its present

disinclination to interfere, New York would have to yield to its decision, and the possible experiences of the future may make modifications of the plan as it now stands necessary in unforeseen particulars." (283 U. S. 336, 344.)

A little over twenty years later New York (on April 1, 1952) filed with the court a petition for a modification of the decree of May 25, 1931. It asked that its diversion of water from the Delaware be increased from 440 m.g.d. to 800 m.g.d. New Jersey and Pennsylvania made answers, and later the state of Delaware intervened.

The details are a long story, but it is sufficient to point out that the U. S. Supreme Court permitted New York, under certain conditions, to take the 800 m.g.d. it requested, and also permitted New Jersey, under certain conditions, to take from the Delaware 100 m.g.d. Again, the U. S. Supreme Court retained continuing jurisdiction in the case so that it could be reopened in the future for further action or relief.

As our urban regions and other metropolitan areas grow, the role of the federal government will doubtless expand as an arbiter over conflicts between states involving metropolitan populations.

#### Political Integration

It has usually been concluded that the sound and basic approach to improved government for metropolitan areas is through political integration. A metropolitan area is customarily regarded as a unit itself, and the governmental and other relationships between nearby metropolitan areas

have traditionally not been considered.

Political integration no doubt still has validity for some metropolitan areas. But for "urban regions" wholly within a single state or for those extending over the boundaries of two or more states there are serious doubts as to whether political integration on a metropolitan area basis is a workable and feasible solution. It is doubtful whether political integration is even desirable for some urban regions. For example, look at Urban Region No. 1<sup>2</sup> and consider the following questions:

1. Would the political integration of the units of local government in this area, having a population of over 23,000,000 people, produce a "city" too big to be efficiently governed?

2. How should a chief executive and a legislative body be created, and their personnel be selected, to provide efficient government with proper representation and democratic control for such a "city"?

3. How could the consent of the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia be gained so that the political integration of such an "urban region" into a city could take place?

4. Would the consent of these states to such action be in the best interest of the remainders, or "rumps," of these states?

5. How could the consent of the federal government be obtained so as to include the District of Columbia in such a "city"?

6. What would be the attitude of

the voters in such an "urban region" to a proposal to bring about the political integration of an area extending from Springfield, Massachusetts, through Alexandria, Virginia?

7. If instead of considering political integration of the entire "urban region," we consider integrating government about each of the historical "core" cities in the region, how are the lines to be drawn between Waterbury, New Haven, Bridgeport, between the northern New Jersey district, Trenton and the Camden, South Jersey area, between the Allentown, Bethlehem-Easton area and the Philadelphia area, or between the Baltimore area and Washington, D. C.?

8. Would it be sound to draw such boundaries around the metropolitan areas composing an "urban region," or would it be a disservice to thus divide what is essentially a unit?

#### Integration Remote

We conclude that political integration, which has been the "classical" answer to the over-all problem of government in metropolitan areas, is theoretically possible in Urban Region No. 1 but such a remote contingency and perhaps so undesirable that it can probably be assigned a position of last choice.

Two other limits on political integration can be mentioned: (1) as a practical matter it is restricted to the territory within a single state (there is no example of political integration across state boundaries); and (2) there is a growing realization that there is an upper limit on the size of the unit of local government that it is desirable to create by political

<sup>2</sup> See the REVIEW, June 1956, page 277, Table I.

integration, as is suggested in some of the questions asked above. Indeed, Dr. Thomas H. Reed recently stated that, in his judgment, New York City was too large for efficient government.

On the other hand, there is a need for political integration in some metropolitan areas. We are coming to realize that our metropolitan areas contain a few governmental units that are too large and many that are too small to be efficient. We have never had a thorough study by competent personnel of the various considerations that should be weighed before a new municipality is incorporated within a metropolitan area. In recent years communities of a few hundred or a few thousand, having little potential for growth, have been incorporated on the edge of some of our large cities. There is almost no function of government that many such small units can afford to administer effectively. As a constructive note, I would therefore like to suggest that the National Municipal League create, with the participation of other interested and qualified groups (such as the American Political Science Association, International City Managers' Association, Governmental Research Association, the technical administrators' associations, etc.) a committee to explore thoroughly and report on current best thinking and criteria for

determining the minimum size of municipal governments that should be created in metropolitan areas. It is realized that we are here dealing not with enduring absolutes but with relative matters that will change with the passage of years. Interested citizens, however, may properly look to political scientists and administrators for the answers to such a question. We should be prepared to give a carefully considered reply.

#### Conclusion

What should be our goals in the government of metropolitan areas, and what policies are best calculated to accomplish them? Some of the answers are implied in what has just been said, while others are being worked upon in our Institute project. Certainly we must preserve local self-government in as vital a role as possible. It looks as though we might have to modify the principle of "one social and economic community, therefore one government" or we may lose local self-government in some regions. Finally, we must recognize that the urban concentrations of today are much more diffuse than they were in the city of the middle and end of the nineteenth century and we must restrain ourselves from trying to draw a boundary, like an ancient city wall, around a dynamic phenomenon whose central characteristic is growth.

# News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## Citizens Analyze Southern States

### Assembly Deals with Government Problems

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below sets forth the *Findings of the Participants in the Southern Assembly on State Governments in the South*. The assembly was held April 17-19 at the Hotel Buena Vista, Biloxi, Mississippi. It was sponsored by Tulane University with the cooperation of the American Assembly, Columbia University. Dr. Robert W. French, vice president of Tulane, was chairman. The conference was the first of several regional meetings on state government following the Eighth Annual Assembly on the 48 States held at Arden House, October 13-16, 1955.<sup>1</sup> A Pacific Northwest Conference on State Government took place June 21-24 and a California Conference on State Government is scheduled for August 16-19.

**T**HE Southern Assembly believes that the strengthening of our state governments is imperative if they are to continue to be strong and vital parts of our federal system.

The central concern of the assembly is how the southern states can improve the capacity of their governments to exercise power responsibly, democratically, intelligently and efficiently.

With the exception of a long continued adherence to the one-party system, and special problems of race relations, the functions and problems of state government in the south are much the same as those in other states. The state governments of the south differ among themselves almost as much as they differ collectively from other states in other parts of the country. This individuality, the

assembly believes, is desirable and should be maintained wherever it contributes to the more effective discharge of governmental functions.

#### I

Since policy-making is the most important function of state government, confidence in state legislatures must be strengthened. The Southern Assembly believes that state constitutions generally reflect a strong distrust of legislatures. Legislatures need to be freed from outmoded constitutional restrictions in order that they may perform their proper functions.

The maintenance of truly representative government requires equitable apportionment of state legislatures on the basis of population. At the present time legislatures need to be reapportioned to assure fair representation as between urban and rural elements. Revision of state constitutions in most instances will be a necessary preliminary to the full accomplishment of this aim. Mandatory reapportionment at regular intervals will keep the legislatures representative.

A well understood and more effective legislative process is a key both to the confidence and prestige of the legislature and to better laws. Every aid to the legislative process should be utilized, such as governmental and private research agencies, legislative reference and bill-drafting services, and procedures for definite and open hearings. It is also recognized that individuals and representatives of particular interests perform useful functions in this process. It is important, however, that organized interests be publicly identified and their activities adequately regulated.

Stronger leadership in the policy-making process is an important need. This leadership must be supplied in large part

<sup>1</sup> For the report of this conference see the REVIEW, November 1955, page 504.

by the governor. The Southern Assembly believes that gubernatorial leadership needs the support of more adequate staff, especially for research and planning.

## II

The Southern Assembly believes that the power of the governor in state affairs should be increased. He should be elected for a term of four years rather than two and should be eligible for re-election for at least a second term. Elective executive officers should be held to an absolute minimum.

The number of administrative agencies should be reduced and the governor should have the power to appoint and remove the heads of the principal agencies. Boards or commissions should be used only for the exercise of quasi-judicial powers and where public confidence and support can be assured in no other way.

As a condition for this strengthened executive power, the assembly stresses the necessity for an adequate state merit system protected from political control.

## III

The offering of meaningful alternatives to voters is basic to a democratic system. In the south these alternatives are not provided through a system of separate parties. There are clear signs of the development in the region of a two-party system in presidential politics. Sharp divergences of opinion exist in the assembly with regard to whether such a system should be extended to state and local politics. Many think that the absence of disciplined parties in southern states has permitted consideration of candidates by voters and of issues by representatives on a more objective basis than would be possible with party systems. Others think that responsibility to the electorate on the basis of issues rather than personalities and continuity of governmental programs would be furthered by the de-

velopment of a two-party system in state politics. In a number of states reasonably continuous political groupings based on different political philosophies, personal leadership or political organizations have from time to time provided some of the elements of identity, choice and responsibility characteristic of political parties.

## IV

Although there are differences of opinion on federal grant-in-aid programs (many of which are differences of degree), there is a general feeling that they were introduced to meet needs which were not being met adequately by the states; that some of the states, but not all of them, would be better off to finance and perform some of these functions by themselves; and that new programs should be entered upon with great caution. Some believed that existing programs should taper off as the states gain financial strength to assume them, especially through the yielding to them of appropriate revenue sources by the federal government. The impact of particular grant-in-aid programs on the budgets and administration of each state indicate a need for careful study. It was generally agreed that these programs have to some extent weakened the relative position of the states in the federal system and have tended to discourage local self-reliance.

## V

One of the most pressing problems of the south is race relations. This problem has important impacts on many phases of life in the southern states, including government. Governments in the south have dealt with difficult problems before and undoubtedly have the ability to alleviate the present tensions. The Southern Assembly believes that state governments in the south should undertake by all means at their disposal to prevent violence and to maintain public order. The governor especially should set the tone of public

discussion by an appeal for sober thought and action in problems of race relations. It is suggested that human relations commissions, both state and local, may be useful in studying facts and making policy recommendations.

## VI

The assembly recommends that careful, extensive and continuing studies be made of the numerous and varied problems of tax policy and administration. Inter-relationships of levels of government in the tax pattern should receive special attention. Greater and more effective use should be made of the property tax in the south. The assembly recommends that the state governments yield the property tax to the exclusive use of units of local government. In so doing, however, the states should provide effective coordination and administration of the property tax by local units of government in order to assure equalization of assessments.

It is essential that the states broaden the pattern of revenue sources not only for state purposes but also for units of local governments.

The assembly disapproves the practice of earmarking state revenues. Constitutional debt limitations should be raised substantially or eliminated altogether. Such action will enable the states to make increased use of general obligation bonds, with resulting substantial savings in interest rates and decreased use of revenue bonds.

## VII

The competence of a state government obviously depends heavily upon the caliber of its personnel. The assembly believes that adequate compensation and conditions which offer opportunity for satisfying careers are indispensable to attract and retain high quality personnel. In further support of these conditions, state merit systems characterized by positive career incentives and secured by

sound laws and public support are absolutely essential.

## VIII

The governments of southern states would be materially strengthened by providing for the adoption of home rule by cities and counties. The assembly believes this would greatly stimulate local self-reliance, especially with regard to the assumption of a greater degree of financial independence by local units of government. State legislatures would be thereby freed for consideration of broader issues.

The assembly has emphasized in these findings the importance of improvement in the machinery and operation of our state governments, but it also stresses the extreme importance of informed citizen interest and participation as the only final assurance of effective and responsive government.

### *Massachusetts Convention for Limited Home Rule*

A constitutional convention—a joint assembly of the two houses of the Massachusetts legislature—met on May 14 and tentatively approved a home rule proposal and a measure timing payments on state bonds. It discarded a graduated income tax, the vote for eighteen-year-olds, an increase in the length of terms of statewide elective officials, and another and broader home rule proposal.

The home rule amendment, which was voted by 134 to 119, applies to the realm of local finances only. It would prohibit special laws that exempt cities and towns from local taxation or that require them to increase expenditures, unless the requests come from the town meetings or city councils. Exceptions require a two-thirds vote of the legislature.

The second proposed home rule amendment, rejected by 130 to 121, would have eliminated more than 300 bills introduced annually by barring the legislature from



enacting any local law affecting purely municipal affairs without prior approval by the town meeting or city council. This measure as well as the more limited proposal which was approved were sponsored by the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations.

The other measure voted by the convention stipulates that all payments on future state bond issues commence within a year after issuance and that payments be spread equally over the succeeding years until paid.

#### **Lost in Shuffle**

The amendment to lengthen the terms of governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor and attorney general from two to four years was lost in a shuffle over when the four-year term should begin—there was no argument over the principle of a four-year term. If a measure that used 1958 as the starting date had been approved, it would have gone to the electorate this November since it had been passed in a joint convention in 1954.<sup>1</sup> But this was rejected by a vote of 119 to 112. A new proposal, to begin the four-year terms in 1960, lost by the overwhelming vote of 220 to 22.

The graduated income tax measure was defeated by a tie vote of 126 to 126; the proposal for the eighteen-year-old vote by 123 to 97.

These and other actions of the convention have sent the governor and the executive council to the Supreme Judicial Court for an advisory opinion on the general problem of what constitutes completed deliberation by a convention. The constitution obliges the governor to call the two houses into joint session to complete action on proposals for constitutional amendments.

This is what happened to precipitate

<sup>1</sup> Constitutional amendments require approval by two successive legislatures before they can be submitted to the electorate.

the placing of fourteen questions before the court:

The proposal to lengthen elective state officials' terms from two to four years, the terms to start in 1958, was approved by the 1953-1954 legislature and again in the 1955 session of the 1955-1956 legislature. But a motion to reconsider the 1955 vote was not acted upon by the convention in 1955. The convention meeting this year did reconsider the question and rejected the four-year term proposal. Since the 1955 session adjourned without a vote on the reconsideration, was the approval vote of that session final and if so does the measure go on the ballot notwithstanding the 1956 action?

The proposal for a graduated income tax was approved by the 1955 joint convention. This year when the second approval was up the measure lost by a tie vote. Immediately a motion to reconsider this tie vote was made and this motion was pending when the May 14-15 convention adjourned. Did adjournment constitute final action on the question or must the governor reconvene the joint session in order to have the pending reconsideration motion disposed of?

#### **Motions Pending**

Each of the home rule proposals has a reconsideration motion pending. In the case of the one approved, dealing with municipal finance bills, the motion to reconsider might lead to ultimate rejection. In the one disapproved, which would bar bills on purely local affairs without the consent of the city or town concerned, the motion to reconsider leaves approval as a possibility.

If the court rules that adjournment constitutes final action, the four-year term proposal may go on the November ballot this year in spite of the negative action of the recent convention. If the court rules that a joint convention must take up pending motions in order to complete its business, the governor will need to call another joint session, for the con-

stitution provides that the General Court cannot be prorogued while unfinished business is pending.

VICTORIA SCHUCK

Mt. Holyoke College

### ***Four Amendments Submitted in Arizona; Other Laws***

The second regular session of the 22nd Arizona legislature met for 97 days, the longest session in the history of the body. The legislature passed 165 laws, only one of which was vetoed by Governor Ernest W. McFarland. It also proposed four constitutional amendments.

The state budget for fiscal 1956 totals \$98,387,224, as compared to \$92,356,936 for the current fiscal year.

Salary increases were authorized for state executive and administrative officials, judges of the State Supreme and Superior Courts, and elective county officials and their chief deputies. The annual pay of the governor was raised from \$15,000 to \$18,500 and that of Supreme Court judges from \$12,500 to \$15,000.

The legislature created a state planning and building commission to plan and coordinate projects involving state lands and buildings. Charged with promoting economy in capital expenditures through planning the more effective use of real property and by efficient building practices, the commission will screen all project and improvement requests from other state agencies, present them to the legislature with recommendations, and carry out such improvements and programs as the legislature may assign to it.

County boards of supervisors were given the discretionary authority to appoint tally boards in election precincts of 350 or more voters for the purpose of conducting the ballot count. Regular election boards customarily count the ballots.

The legislature initiated four proposed constitutional amendments, which will be submitted to the voters at a special elec-

tion on September 11. One recommends an annual salary of \$2,200 for members of the legislature, together with an expense allowance of \$12 per day for legislators who reside at home and \$17 for those who do not. The expense allowance would not be paid for more than 75 days of a regular session and twenty days of a special session. Legislators now received \$8 per day for the first 60 days of a regular session and the first twenty of a special session, and the above expense allowances for every day the legislature is in session.

According to another proposal, teachers, instructors and professors authorized to teach in the United States under the federal teacher exchange program would be exempted from the constitutional ban upon the employment of aliens by state or local government.

Another proposed amendment would remove the present double liability of shareholders and stockholders of banks and insurance companies if the companies are members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or other federal insuring agency.

The fourth amendment would authorize the legislature, in cooperation with any adjoining state, to redefine state boundaries, subject to the approval of Congress.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

### ***Louisiana Adopts Six Constitutional Amendments***

At the general election in Louisiana on April 17, six proposed constitutional amendments were voted on and adopted. Their subjects, and the percentages by which each was approved, are: To require a two-thirds vote of the legislature on new or increased taxes, 50.2 per cent; to extend property tax exemptions to nonprofit corporations promoting trade, 79.4 per cent; to reduce the tax authorization of the Orleans Levee Board, 55.2 per

cent; to dedicate revenues to the highway program, 69.6 per cent; to increase the Monroe school district debt limit, 77.5 per cent; and to create a long-range highway fund, 69.6 per cent.

According to the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, approximately one-fifth of the registered electors voted on one or more of the amendments, the proportion varying from 40.7 per cent down to 8.1 per cent in the several parishes (counties). In the January primary, when the Democratic nominee for governor was selected (this being tantamount to election), 78.8 per cent of the registration participated.

The first amendment mentioned above, which received the largest total vote and the smallest favorable vote, was made effective by only 9.9 per cent of the registration.

### ***Connecticut Government Economy Study Initiated***

Concurring in a suggestion of Republican State Chairman Clarence F. Baldwin, Governor Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut has appointed a State Governmental Economy Study Committee, which is to consider possibilities of changing the state governmental structure with a general view to streamlining and economy, and a special objective of avoiding tax increases at the 1957 legislative session.

The committee consists of sixteen members and a chairman, who is William C. Bell, president of the United Illuminating Company of New Haven.

### ***Florida Presidential Primary Passes First Test***

Mechanically, the presidential preferential primary law of Florida<sup>1</sup> passed its first test on May 29 with flying colors, although the primary itself did not suc-

ceed in attracting great numbers to the polls. The voting totals should serve as a much needed reminder to reformers that a "model" law is only valuable as it is used.

The law was designed to accomplish certain things which were felt to be "ideal" in providing a primary that would promote party feeling and still be reflective of public sentiment. It provided that each party which had at least 10 per cent of the registered voters should hold a primary. Both the Democrats and Republicans offered candidates; the Democrats ran Governor Stevenson and Senator Kefauver and the Republicans offered President Eisenhower and Senator Knowland.

Secondly, the law made it possible to offer candidates without the candidate's permission. Possibly Mr. Knowland fitted into this category. The others did not. The law, however, made it possible for presidential aspirants to protect themselves by choosing their own delegates, or at least in agreeing to those so chosen. None of the four candidates complained about the delegate slates appearing under their names on the ballot.

Thirdly, the law eliminated the "popularity" features of the old act and subordinated the delegates to their proper role as supporters of a presidential candidate, not as people running for office in their own right. Though some voters were confused because of the elimination of the squares or levers beside individual delegate names, most liked the adjustment to a whole slate.

Lastly, of the principal features of the law, the provision for a split slate came off very well. Stevenson won the state-at-large vote and he and Kefauver split the congressional districts five to three, giving Stevenson a total of twenty-two votes to six for Kefauver. Eisenhower, of course, carried away the entire Republican delegation when Knowland made no contest.

The disappointing results of the elec-

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, October 1955, page 470.

tion, then, were not mechanical but in the utter disregard of the contests by many Floridians. Only 436,000 of the approximately 550,000 Democrats who voted at the May 29 primary bothered to express a presidential preference, whereas nearly 900,000 voted in the first primary for state officials three weeks earlier. Even the 900,000 were only about half the total eligible voters. Though the Republicans held no statewide first primary, only about 40,000 of the nearly 150,000 eligible voted in the presidential primary. Unquestionably, three factors played a part in keeping the vote down: the unprecedented first primary victory of Governor LeRoy Collins in his bid for reelection, the eminence of President Eisenhower who stimulates feelings both of admiration and of apathy, and the gentlemanly and courtly campaigns conducted by both Stevenson and Kefauver.

There are still certain post-election features of the law which must come into play and be evaluated before final judgment can be passed. For example, the organizing chairman must call the delegates together, a permanent chairman must be elected, and an alternate has to be chosen by each delegate. On the whole, however, those of us who wrote the law and who nursed it through the legislature are pleased with the outcome.

BRUCE B. MASON

University of Florida

### ***N. Y. State to Prepare for Constitutional Convention***

The New York legislature adopted a bill for the establishment of a commission to prepare for the constitutional convention to be voted on next year. The fifteen-member commission consists of five appointed by the governor, five by the speaker of the Assembly and five by the majority leader in the Senate (as temporary president of the Senate). The commission, by compiling material before the vote on having a convention, can as-

sist the voters in making their decision. The bill carried an appropriation of \$75,000 for the commission's work.

### ***Council-manager Plan Developments***

The International City Managers' Association reports two adoptions of the council-manager plan not previously mentioned in this column: MASON, MICHIGAN, (1950 population 3,514) and SPUR, TEXAS, (2,183).

On May 18 voters of TOLEDO, OREGON, (1955 population 2,749) adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 598 to 253. The new plan went into effect on July 1.

The Massachusetts legislature at its 1956 session passed an act giving the town manager plan to WILLIAMSTOWN (1950 population 6,194). The new plan will go into effect in February 1957.

Because of dissatisfaction with certain of its provisions, Mayor Joseph V. Cronin, of HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, has appointed a fifteen-member committee to study the city's charter and to propose any changes it considers necessary. Hartford has had the council-manager plan for the past eight years.

At a recall election in the township of PARSIPPANY-TROY HILLS, NEW JERSEY, on May 29, four councilmen (including the mayor) whose recall was sought by political opponents of the existing council-manager plan, were vindicated by over 60 per cent of the votes cast. As reported in the local newspaper, the *Citizen*, the record in three test votes bearing on the council-manager plan in the last four years is as follows: 1953, adoption of the plan, 2,286 to 1,689; 1954, election of first council, 2,182 to 1,192; 1956, "vote of confidence", 2,311 to 1,487.

Mayor Hugh Hamilton of AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, has unreservedly endorsed a council-manager proposal advanced by a group of seventeen business and civic leaders. The city is now governed by a

council of sixteen and a mayor who is not required to serve full time. Mayor Hamilton declared that "the city manager type of government is the only logical method of operating the city of Augusta." The manager plan is also reported to be endorsed by three political party leaders.

In EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, at a special dinner meeting late in April, unanimously voted to initiate a movement for the council-manager plan. A committee was to undertake the establishment of a citizens' organization for that purpose.

The charter commission of CHAGRIN FALLS, OHIO, has voted to submit the council-manager plan to the voters at the November election. A council of seven, together with a mayor, was proposed, the mayor to have power to introduce and veto legislation and to vote in case of a tie. The council and the mayor would choose the village manager.

In MT. MORRIS, MICHIGAN, a charter study committee has voted five to two to recommend the council-manager plan to the city council. If the council approves it would be expected to call an election for choosing a charter revision committee.

DOWNERS GROVE, ILLINOIS, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan by a vote of 817 to 172 on May 12.

ROSEVILLE, MINNESOTA, voted 1,439 to 738 against adoption of the council-manager plan on May 22.

Voters of JOPLIN, MISSOURI, upheld their council-manager charter on June 5 by turning down a proposal to elect a commission to draft a new charter. The vote was 4,089 to 2,629 against the proposed commission.

The council-manager government committee of the St. JOSEPH, MISSOURI, Junior Chamber of Commerce is including county as well as city government in its study.

The directors of the WEBB CITY, MISSOURI, Chamber of Commerce have

expressed approval of the council-manager movement. Petitions calling for a special election on the question have received more than the required number of signatures.

On April 3 FLAT RIVER, MISSOURI, voted 382 to 77 against adoption of the council-manager plan.

The charter commission of LA MARQUE, TEXAS, elected in October 1954, the year of the city's incorporation, has prepared a council-manager charter following closely the Model City Charter of the National Municipal League. It is subject to action by the city council and the voters. The present population is reported as about 12,000.

A charter commission of fifteen members was elected in DENISON, TEXAS, by a vote of 1,277 to 308 on April 8, as a result of petitions calling for a council-manager charter.

WOODBURN, OREGON, voted 500 to 489 on May 18 against adoption of a council-manager ordinance.

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA, voted 11,547 to 2,761 in April to retain the council-manager plan.

PETALUMA, CALIFORNIA, retained its council-manager plan of government by a vote of 1,734 to 1,344 on May 15. Over 55 per cent of the registered voters participated.

SEAL BEACH, CALIFORNIA, defeated a council-manager proposal 709 to 557 in April.

Colorado managers met at the University of Colorado in Boulder, April 5-7, with 21 managers present. Florida managers held their tenth annual manager institute at Panama City, April 22-25, with 44 managers attending. Oklahoma managers held their spring conference at Norman, May 3-4; 33 managers attended. The Pennsylvania Municipal Managers' Association held its eighth annual meeting in Pittsburgh, April 26-28; the attendance was 78 including 37 managers. Texas managers met in Tyler, May 6-8,

with a record attendance of 90 managers and a total registration of 203.

The International City Managers' Association will hold its 42nd annual conference at Banff, Alberta, Canada, September 16-20, with headquarters at the Banff Springs Hotel.

### ***Demonstration Projects in Urban Renewal***

Under the auspices of the Housing and Home Finance Agency of the Federal Urban Renewal Administration grants are being made to cities and other public bodies, under Section 314 of the Housing Act of 1954, to assist them in developing, testing and reporting methods and techniques in urban renewal, and to carry out demonstration and other activities for prevention and elimination of slums and urban blight. In the spring of 1956 at least nine such demonstrations were in progress, with many applications pending. The grants are to cover as much as two-thirds of the estimated cost of the projects, as determined by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

Cities, particularly the smaller ones, may find it advantageous to approach the larger problems of a full-scale urban renewal program by means of a demonstration grant to study some particular aspect of urban renewal or to educate and prepare the community for a later program.

### ***Fewer Elective Local Officers in Wisconsin***

Trends toward placing local administrative officials on an appointive rather than an elective basis, and toward combining certain local offices, are evident in Wisconsin. Recent instances reported by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, in *The Municipality*, include the following:

In Amery the positions of clerk and treasurer have been combined; in Barron the council has provided for appointment

to the combined office of clerk-treasurer; in Baraboo the elective office of city assessor has been changed to appointive; in Cedarburg the treasurer has been made appointive; in Fox Lake the offices of clerk and treasurer have been combined on an appointive basis; in Horicon the assessor has been made appointive; in Pewaukee the council adopted charter ordinances combining the offices of clerk and treasurer and making the assessor appointive, and these were approved by the voters; in Prescott the assessor has been made appointive; and in Waupaca the offices of clerk and treasurer have been combined on an appointive basis.

### ***New Date for Inter-American Congress of Municipalities***

The Sixth Congress of the Inter-American Municipal Organization is now scheduled to be held on August 17-23, 1956, in Panama City, Panama. As previously announced the dates were August 14-19.

### ***College Students Sought for State Employment***

New Jersey and New York have each made a change in their recruiting programs in the hope of attracting more college graduates to work for the state, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

Interviewers went to the biggest cities in New Jersey to talk to college students home on Easter vacation. More than 250 prospects were interviewed in one three-day period. Applicants were sought for positions as social case workers, accountants, engineers, nurses, physicians and pharmacists.

In New York, for the first time, students in their junior year of college may apply for state employment and take an examination. Appointments are to go into effect only after their graduation, however. Salaries will start at about \$4,000 a year.



**County and Township***Edited by William N. Cassella, Jr.,  
and Victor Jones*

## DeKalb County Reorganizes

### Georgia Unit to Have an Elective Executive

**A**FTER over 50 years of one-commissioner government in DeKalb County, Georgia, a switch will be made to a multiple commission-chairman form in January of next year. The chairman will be the chief executive of the county government and will generally "super-vise, direct and control the administration" of its affairs.

So long as DeKalb County was chiefly rural, the one-man commission worked all right. But as the county became urbanized this type was unsuitable for the needs of the people. As late as 1930 the population of DeKalb was hardly more than 70,000, and it had not yet lost its rural character, but by 1940 the population had risen to about 86,000. Already the budget had increased considerably and the county was furnishing fire protection, water and garbage disposal services to the people of certain areas. In order to enable the county to furnish such services an amendment to the constitution of Georgia was added in 1937.

As the population nearly doubled between 1940 and 1950, increasing to 138,000 and reaching approximately 200,000 by 1956, the government of the county became entirely too involved for one man to handle. The Scott Candler administration tried to stave off reform with watered down proposals in 1953, but finally yielded to pressure after a referendum clearly showed that the people favored a change.

By act of the 1953 General Assembly the DeKalb County Local Government Commission was created "to study the

governments of DeKalb County and all the municipalities located wholly therein and submit to the DeKalb delegation in the General Assembly of Georgia . . . a plan or plans for the improvement of such local governments." The commission, named in the legislative act, was composed of nine members with C. S. Burgess, Sr., serving as chairman.

It should be noted that the city of Atlanta, which is partially in DeKalb County, was not included in the mandate of this commission. A similar body, the Local Government Commission of Fulton County, proposed a plan for the redistribution of functions between Atlanta and Fulton County in 1950. Its recommendations were adopted and went into effect in 1953. Although DeKalb County was represented on the earlier commission because Atlanta had grown across the county line, the government of DeKalb was not included in that study.

The DeKalb County Local Government Commission engaged Griffenhagen and Associates of Chicago to make a survey of the county and its municipalities. This concern made its report in 1954. The commission reviewed it and submitted its report in November 1954.

It recommended to the DeKalb legislative delegation that a referendum be held in which the people would be asked whether they favored a single commissioner or a multiple-member commission; if the latter, whether it should consist of three, five, seven or nine members; whether the members should be elected by districts or at large; and also whether there should be a county executive serving as board chairman elected by the people in a county-wide election, or a county manager system. Accordingly, the legislative delegation provided for a

referendum embracing practically all these suggestions.

In the referendum in the spring of 1955, by a slender majority of seven, the people favored a county manager over a chairman-executive, and they overwhelmingly approved the multiple commission. The DeKalb League of Women Voters strongly favored a county manager-commission form of government, but the delegation thought the referendum was inconclusive on this point and, after a number of hearings over the county, finally decided on a referendum to be held May 16, 1956, when the people would be asked to approve or disapprove a multiple commission with an elective chairman. Also included in the referendum was the matter of whether Wheat Williams, who had defeated Scott Candler in 1954 for a four-year term as commissioner, would be allowed to serve the first two years as chairman provided the plan were adopted.

#### **New Form Approved**

The multiple commission with an elective chairman was approved by about eight to one, but the people overwhelmingly disapproved of Mr. Williams for chairman. This latter result is easy to explain. Mr. Williams had campaigned against Mr. Candler in 1954 charging dictatorship; however, when he assumed office he is alleged to have backed up and to have insisted on a one-man commission. Moreover, he had incurred strong opposition from the taxpayers by appointing tax assessors who doubled assessments. He was rejected by a vote of over three to one.

Throughout this fight for reorganization, James Mackay has been the leader. Mackay is a graduate of Emory University and a lawyer. He has served in the House of Representatives two terms. Mackay was indefatigable in his battle for change and the result is a great tribute to him.

The multiple commission with an elective chairman was supported by such organizations as the DeKalb League of Women Voters and the DeKalb Good Government League.

The four commissioners and a chairman will be elected in September and will take office in January 1957. While the chairman comes from the county at large, the four commissioners must be residents of four separate districts.

And now for a brief look ahead. DeKalb is suffering from severe growing pains and as a result is in for some headaches. DeKalb is largely a residential area taking care of the spillover from Fulton County. Some 41,000 DeKalb people cross over the Fulton line each day to work in Atlanta. Although DeKalb has a few industries, some sizeable like the General Motors assembly plant, it has few compared to Fulton. Consequently, DeKalb must service all its people who work in Fulton in addition to those who make their living in DeKalb. In the last few months, because of the great influx of new people, the schools have had to take care of some 4,000 additional children, which was not contemplated in planning the school budget. In the crisis the county had to call upon the state for additional funds.

Adoption of the new form of government is a step forward, but it cannot succeed without good leadership. Men like young James Mackay must carry on. On this need for good men, Representative Mackay has said:

The smashing victory for the multiple commission assures solid support for the new plan of government. The plan alone does not guarantee good government. The caliber of the men who offer and who are elected determines whether our problems of local government will be solved.

CULLEN B. GOSNELL

Institute of Citizenship  
Emory University

## **Powers of Wisconsin Counties Increased**

An act passed by the 1955 legislature increased significantly the scope of county government in Wisconsin by broadening the basic interpretation of county powers and granting thirteen specific new powers to most counties in the state. In addition the new legislation codifies and also simplifies the language of county government law.

The revision was based upon the recommendations of a committee of the Wisconsin County Board Association. As originally introduced the legislation contained a section granting counties "home rule" for purely local affairs. Opposition to this provision and doubts concerning the constitutionality of legislative home rule for counties resulted in dropping this section. As a substitute a section was added which is designed to reject the strict interpretation of county powers rendered by court decisions and the attorney general's rulings in the past.

The new section reads: "The board of each county may exercise the following powers, which shall be broadly and liberally construed and limited only by express language." The enumeration of powers follows. Of course, only future court rulings will determine the ultimate effectiveness of this provision.

Specific additions to the powers of the county include, among others, the power to enact ordinances to preserve peace and order, to construct and operate golf courses and other recreational facilities (a power previously held by only Milwaukee County), and to adopt building and sanitary codes.

### **Philadelphia Five-county Area to Be Studied**

The House of Representatives of the recently adjourned Pennsylvania General Assembly called on Governor Leader, by resolution, to appoint a Study Commis-

sion of the Philadelphia metropolitan area. The resolution directs the commission to "make a study of the facts which the commission deems appropriate on any subject related to proper, orderly and efficient growth and development of the five-county metropolitan area and its relationship to the larger metropolitan region." The five counties are Philadelphia, Delaware, Montgomery, Bucks and Chester.

The resolution, introduced and adopted with bipartisan sponsorship, calls for a commission of fifteen members—three from each of the five metropolitan area counties. It was supported by the Greater Philadelphia Movement.

The adoption of the resolution followed several unsuccessful efforts by the city of Philadelphia to secure adoption by the legislature of permissive legislation for the establishment of regional service districts to cut across existing governmental boundaries.

The members of the commission will serve without compensation. It is anticipated that Governor Leader will appoint the commission upon return from a current trip overseas. Although the resolution does not provide for a termination date, it is expected that the commission will take about two years in completing its work.

### **To Survey Civil Service in Nassau County, New York**

The board of supervisors of Nassau County, New York, has approved an independent study of county civil service procedures. The county had been criticized in the New York metropolitan press for having half its 5,000 employees under "provisional" or temporary appointment when civil service examinations should have been held.

The county executive recommended that the study be conducted and that the board of supervisors appropriate the

necessary funds. The New York firm, Management Services Associates, Inc., headed by H. Eliot Kaplan, former executive director of the National Civil Service League, will conduct the survey. The survey must be completed on or before February 1, 1957.

### **Consider Consolidation of Road Administration**

Four Illinois organizations have joined in a study to determine the extent of the economies which would be realized by assigning local road administration to jurisdictions larger than townships. The results of this study, in which the Illinois Agricultural Association, University of Illinois, Illinois Legislative Council and Illinois State Chamber of Commerce are cooperating, may be presented to the 1957 legislature in the form of recommended legislation.

Leaders of the Illinois Agricultural Association have maintained for some years that the township is too small to be an efficient unit for road building and maintenance. The association takes the position that, although the township served well in the horse-and-buggy era, areas larger than a single township are required for the economic operation and ownership of modern highway equipment.

A bill intended to force consolidation efforts, introduced in the 1955 legislature, provided that state gasoline funds would be withheld from townships with less than 40 miles of roads. Even when amended to make the minimum requirement 20 miles the bill was killed in the legislature.

### **Oregon Committee Works for Coroner Revision**

A committee in Oregon consisting of three coroners and three private citizens, two of whom are funeral directors, is at work to enlist the aid of the State Bar Association and the State Medical Society in obtaining a revision of the state's present coroner law. The committee of six is unanimous in its desire to "get funeral directors out of the coroner business." It is taking the lead in efforts to make use of the opportunity which will exist if a pending state constitutional amendment is approved this November which will authorize the legislature "to prescribe qualifications for office of county coroner and county surveyor."

### **Medical Examiner Service Not Costly**

A round-up of per capita costs of medical examiner service, in the areas where such services are highly developed on the lines of the National Municipal League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System*, has been made by promoters of a medical examiner bill in Arizona. It shows that the office of medical examiner in Nassau County, New York, (population 672,765) varies from 4.4 cents to 5.8 cents per capita; in Philadelphia (2,071,605), where the service is newly organized, 10 cents; in Vermont (377,747), 5 cents; Rhode Island (791,896), 8.4 cents; Virginia (3,318,680), 4 cents; Maryland (2,343,001), 6 1/3 cents; and in Westchester County, New York, (625,816) 4 cents. R.S.C.

## State Debt Rises in 1955

Now Stands at Nearly  
Eleven Billion Dollars

THE long-term debts of the states continued their upward movement in 1955, according to the last report on state government finances by the Governments Division of the United States Bureau of the Census,<sup>1</sup> to reach nearly eleven billion dollars at the year's end. The rate of gain slackened measurably from the preceding year—the 1955 total was up 17 per cent compared with a 24 per cent increase for 1954—but the relatively heavy borrowing of the recent periods carried the 1955 aggregate to a level more than double that of 1950.

At the end of 1955 long-term state debt aggregated \$10,950,277,000. This compared with \$9,317,000,000 at the end of 1954 and \$5,168,000,000 at the end of 1950. Significantly, the larger part of the increase was in so-called non-guaranteed debt. Such debt totaled \$5,022,000,000 at the end of 1955 compared with \$3,547,000,000 at the end of 1954 and \$958,000,000 in 1950. The 1955 total for non-guaranteed debt was 42 per cent above that of 1954 and 424 per cent higher than in 1950. Full faith and credit debt of the states, on the other hand, at \$5,929,000,000, was only 3 per cent higher than in 1954 (\$5,770,000,000) and 41 per cent above the 1950 figure of \$4,209,000,000.

The greater part of the non-guaranteed debt was represented by revenue bonds for highways and bridges serviced

from tolls. The states issued \$1,312,146,000 of toll highway long-term obligations in 1955, to raise the total for this type of debt to \$3,995,730,000 at the end of the year. The toll highway bonds represented 62 per cent of the total new borrowing by the states in 1955 and accounted for 36 per cent of the long-term debt outstanding at the end of the year. Borrowing for highways in 1955 with other than revenue obligations totaled \$229,304,000, by way of comparison, and highway debt other than toll highway debt at the end of the year amounted to \$1,841,662,000.

Another important segment of state borrowing was for education. For state institutions of higher learning there was issued \$87,220,000 of new long-term obligations, raising the total outstanding at the end of the year to \$492,230,000. Also issued were \$151,628,000 of new obligations for other educational purposes, mainly for construction aid to local elementary and secondary schools. At the end of the year this type of educational debt amounted to \$903,376,000.

Bonds for payment of veterans' bonuses amounted to \$1,363,130,000 at the end of 1955, with new borrowing during the year relatively limited at \$70,000,000 (issued \$60,000,000 by Michigan and \$10,000,000 by Louisiana). The outstanding total for veterans' bonuses and the new borrowing figures did not include bonds issued by California to finance its program of farm and home loans for veterans. California issued \$60,000,000 new veterans' loan bonds in 1955, and had \$389,265,000 of this type of obligation outstanding at the end of the year. The figures also excluded Oregon veterans' welfare bonds, of which \$53,000,000 were outstanding at the year-end, and the Texas loans for the veterans' land fund, for which \$30,000,000 new bonds were issued and \$90,000,000 were

<sup>1</sup> *Compendium of State Government Finances in 1955*. Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1956. 68 pp. 40 cents.

outstanding at the end of the year. Altogether, new obligations issued for veterans' aid programs totaled \$160,000,000, and the amount outstanding aggregated \$1,895,395,000. The aggregate outstanding exceeded that for any state purpose other than highways.

New long-term borrowing in 1955 totaled \$2,116,713,000, while \$477,253,000 of long-term debt was redeemed during the year. Additionally, \$85,294,000 of obligations were refunded. The new borrowing comprised \$639,911,000 of full faith and credit obligations and \$1,476,802 of non-guaranteed obligations.

Although some of the states have constitutional prohibitions against the incurring of long-term debt for general state purposes, the Census Bureau classifications disclosed that each of the states had some long-term debt outstanding in 1955. In the case of eleven states obligations were all in the non-guaranteed category: Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

In terms of magnitude of long-term debt, the state of New York had the largest, followed by Pennsylvania—\$1,494,978,000 and \$1,203,299,000 respectively. At the other extreme was South Dakota, with a long-term debt of \$196,000. Net long-term debt (gross less sinking and redemption funds) averaged \$59.21 per capita for all 48 states. New York's per capita was \$62.96, and Pennsylvania's \$107.67, while that of South Dakota (the lowest) was 21 cents. The highest per capita net long-term debt was shown by Delaware, \$341.50. Other states with per capita figures conspicuously above the average included Massachusetts, \$157.41; New Jersey, \$157.06; Maryland, \$149.21; West Virginia, \$133.77; Connecticut, \$89.59; Oklahoma, \$86.08; South Carolina, \$85.56; Kansas, \$85.41; and Washington, \$82.95.

The data are compiled on the basis of

the respective fiscal years of the several states. Such years ended mainly on June 30, 1955. A few ended in earlier 1955 months, however, and for two of the states they ended in late 1954 months.

### ***MFOA Conference Discusses Borrowing, Reporting***

The Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada, meeting in Washington, D. C., for its 50th annual convention, attracted nearly 1,500 registered participants for its series of general meetings, forums and panel discussions on June 3-7, 1956. Sessions were devoted to current financial problems of municipal government and of metropolitan areas, to public financial reporting and to accounting and auditing problems.

Problems of public debt administration and of reporting to underwriters and investors in connection with new bond offerings proved to be one of the livelier areas of interest, both in formal sessions and in informal discussion. The interest reflected the growing realization of local officials that the shift in market conditions since the war to one in which considerably higher borrowing costs prevail makes extra effort advisable in planning and marketing new bonds if the most advantageous interest costs are to be secured.

Among the interesting projects reported under way at the session were two of possible significance to officials and civic groups and students. One is a project of the Committee on Governmental Accounting (sponsored jointly by the MFOA, the National Municipal League and various other groups). Under this project a series of pilot studies are being made with seven cooperating municipal governments, which will test proposed accounting and reporting concepts in about nine fund and departmental fields, preparatory to issuance of a re-



vised new manual on governmental accounting.

The other project is one of the Committee on Property Tax Collections. This committee proposes shortly to issue questionnaires to all communities of 25,000 population and over to determine current practices and procedures in real property tax collections.

A resolution of the conference endorsed the proposed 1957 census of governments, to be made by the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census, and memorialized the Congress to speedily enact the appropriation bill to provide sufficient funds for the census.

### ***Reassessment Study Undertaken by Texas Units***

A jointly financed reassessment project has been authorized by the three local governmental units of Midland, Texas, to provide new equalized valuations for local property taxation. Participating in the estimated \$62,810 cost are the city of Midland, the Midland Independent School District and Midland County. The revaluation survey will be made by a professional firm of appraisers.

Midland last had a similar survey in 1950, when the city and school district jointly financed the reassessment. Since that time, the assessed valuation for the city has risen from \$27,619,475 to about \$65,500,000. Work on the new study is expected to be completed during the fore part of 1957.

### ***Legislative Action Reduces Interest on City Funds***

Arizona cities and towns are threatened with a serious reduction in interest receipts on municipal funds because the provisions of a law enacted by the recent regular session of the state legislature,

for the purpose of requiring banks to pay interest on the inactive funds of the state of Arizona, were also extended to counties and municipalities. Tucson officials estimate that the city will lose more than \$40,000 a year if it abides by the law. The law is in the main acceptable to state officials, as banks have not been paying interest on inactive state deposits.

The law requires inactive municipal funds to be deposited in banks at an interest rate of not more than 1 per cent. Municipal officials believe the law also applies to pension funds, although they are not specifically mentioned. Municipalities have customarily invested inactive funds in government bonds and short term notes carrying a somewhat higher rate of interest. The city of Tucson plans to test the law in the courts, seeking to learn whether it is constitutional and, if so, whether it applies to home rule cities.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

### ***Conference Committee Approves Governments Census***

Collection of data for a comprehensive census of governments in 1957 seemed assured in mid-June when a joint conference committee of the Senate and House approved inclusion of \$1,750,000 in the 1957 appropriations bill for the purpose. The appropriation represented the amount provided in the House bill. The Senate had provided \$2,100,000. The report of the committee stated: "The action of the conferees is not intended to reduce any of the functions proposed under this program," a statement construed as opening the way for a supplemental appropriation next year.

The 1957 census will be the first comprehensive census of state and local government finances since that of 1932.

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Citizen Action . . . . . Edited by Elsie S. Parker

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## Businessmen Hold Politics Workshop

### ECO Has 5-Day Session at Princeton University

A FIVE-DAY workshop on practical politics was conducted on the Princeton University campus May 7-11 by the Effective Citizens Organization. ECO is a nonpartisan, nonprofit group devoted to stimulating businessmen to more active interest in political and governmental affairs.

The workshop was attended by over 40 people drawn from business concerns and organizations. Among the firms represented were General Electric, Shell Oil, Johnson and Johnson, Stromberg-Carlson—Division of General Dynamics, Mutual Benefit Life Insurance, Prudential Insurance and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad.

Conferees heard a group of lecturers and discussion leaders drawn from public life, politics and education. The format of the workshop consisted of three parts: (1) providing the historical backdrop of the American political system, discussed by political scientists; (2) defining the function and operations of the political parties today, explained by political and governmental notables; and (3) providing suggestions as to what the individual can do in his community and in his company.

H. Bruce Palmer, president of Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and president of ECO, opened the workshop by calling for a reappraisal of the meaning of self-government. Mr. Palmer, who serves on the Council of the National Municipal League, told the conferees:

"We must first grasp the real signifi-

cance of self-government, forgetting the usual and nebulous misconception—a picture of a great mass of people exercising certain rights. Instead, we must consider self-government as a personal matter and reflect upon how much we, as individuals, are doing toward governing ourselves."

In setting the keynote, Mr. Palmer spoke of "new concepts of governmental dynamics," pointing out that many forces presently at work tend to push government toward authoritarianism and that in order to preserve self-government we must devote more time and effort to participation in politics and government.

Dr. John Sly, chairman of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, defined politics by saying that while "politics is not a science in the sense that physics is a science, it may be considered a science in the sense that there is a formalized body of knowledge which can be put into practice. That's the art of it."

Other academic lecturers included Professor Rhoten A. Smith, associate director of the Citizenship Clearing House; Professor William H. Eells, executive officer of the Institute of Practical Politics of Ohio Wesleyan University; and Professor James E. Downes of New Jersey State Teachers College.

Political leaders who participated included: Thomas J. Curran, New York County Republican chairman; Archibald Alexander, leader in the Stevenson for President movement; F. Clifton White, Tompkins County (New York) Republican chairman; Robert Humphreys, campaign director, National Republican Committee.

Public officials participating included Commissioner Joseph E. McLean of the New Jersey Department of Conservation

and Economic Development; New Jersey state senators and assemblymen and others.

Also participating were George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and president of the National Municipal League; Thomas R. Reid, director of Civic affairs, Ford Motor Company, and regional vice president of the National Municipal League; and others.

Emphasis was placed on discussion and questions and answers. While the main theme was practical politics, discussions were held on specific problem areas, including education, political patronage, local government and foreign affairs. In each case the emphasis was on the individual's part in the evolution of answers to these problems.

One session was devoted to in-plant programs on citizenship participation. The Johnson and Johnson Sound Government program was described along with the General Electric Company's Better Business Climate program and the Ford Motor Company's Office of Civic Affairs.

The Princeton workshop is one of a series with the next to be held in the southwest. Discussions are being held with a number of colleges and universities. Future plans for ECO workshops call for four such seminars each year.

JOSEPH J. ELEV  
*Executive Vice President*

Effective Citizens Organization

## Holds 'All-American Youth' Name Contest

Modesto, California, has just engaged in an "accentuate the positive" youth project which aroused considerable interest in other cities. Expressing themselves as "sick and tired of hearing about that 2 per cent," the city council sponsored a county-wide All American Youth

Name Contest to put the spotlight on *non*-delinquents for a change. Purpose of the contest was to find a catchy, appropriate title for the 98 per cent of today's youth who are fine, substantial citizens and who receive, for the most part, much less publicity than do problem children.

Topping the competition of hundreds of other entries from Stanislaus County students between eleven and eighteen years of age, Dianne Storch, fourteen, of Downey High School, Modesto, received a wristwatch for winning sweepstakes honors for her suggestion, "Hi-Fi's."

First prizes (record players) were awarded in each of the five divisions (one each for the four junior and senior high schools in the Modesto School District and one for all other contestants in the county) for these suggested titles: "Juvenile Honorees," "Topteens," "Team-agers," "Hi-Fi's" and "Goal-getters."

Second prizes (\$25 merchandise orders) were won for: "Societeens," "Keen Teens," "Beacons," "Digniteens" and "Juvenile Achievers."

Third prizes (winners could choose either a tennis racket or a \$20 jewelry merchandise order) were awarded for: "The Juvenescent Citizen," "Teentops," "Merits," "T.N.T.'s" (Today's Needed Teenagers) and "Civil Teens."

Honorable mention was given to five students in each division and each one of the 40 winners received a parchment certificate of award.

Community interest in the project made possible so large a number of awards. Some prizes were donated outright and others were offered at special price reductions, in order that the funds available, contributed by 25 local organizations, might stretch to cover all awards. English departments in the schools served as collection centers for the entries, city and school officials participated in kick-off assemblies to start

the contest rolling, and radios and newspapers cooperated to focus public attention on the contest for its duration.

Radio entertainer "Red" Blanchard, who was one of the contest judges and did his voting by mail and telephone, was in Modesto personally on May 16 to present awards to the 40 contest winners as part of the Youth in Government Day luncheon program, attended by some 225 persons.

The numerous requests for information about the contest and its outcome, which have been received from magazines, public agencies and individuals across the country, indicate much interest in conducting similar contests in other cities.

ROSS MILLER, *City Manager*  
Modesto, California

## Citizens Have a Responsibility

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below, by JIM BORMANN, news director of Radio Station WCCO, Minneapolis, is from the *News-Bulletin* of the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County for May 15. It is one of a series by members of the league's Speaker's Bureau, who write on subjects on which they are prepared to speak.

If communities grew up in orderly fashion, and if governments were efficient and honest without exception, then there would be no need for the Citizens League. Individual citizens would quite properly be unconcerned about civic problems; indeed there would be no problems critical enough to command their attention—except when voting.

But modern American cities grow up like unruly children. They outgrow the garments that were big enough in their infancy and they often become bolder as their stature increases. Political officeholders who seemed efficient and

honest as candidates sometimes fall short of expectations in office.

John Q. Public may feel a vague responsibility to keep an eye on his growing community and its political leadership, but he may feel too small to do the job alone. This frustration intensifies as the community grows; problems of city and county government become more complex and their magnitude appalls him. He may feel he has discharged his duty when he votes for good candidates, and his civic conscience may be eased by the belief that press and radio are watching the community's welfare.

Contributions to the Community Chest and other humanitarian causes may carry him even closer to the sense of fulfillment so far as his public duties are concerned. But still there are problems and he wants to help solve them.

But how can he come to grips with the ills that beset his community and how can his influence help improve conditions?

By joining forces with hundreds of others who feel as he does, the individual's efforts and ideas can accomplish much. By organizing this combined force and channeling it into a well directed program for civic improvement, an opportunity is provided for individuals to participate in the planning and control of the community's destiny.

Such an organization is the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County. Not only does it serve as watchdog of the public welfare; it also serves as an elder statesman of sorts. The league surveys the future and prepares for it with plans based upon the knowledge of experts and specialists and experience of the past and the present.

Working inside the league, John Q. Public can participate in the satisfying occupation of making his community a better place to live. By joining one or more of the committees for research or for action, he can contribute as much

### Hindsight Better than Foresight?

The editorial below, "Blessing in Disguise," appeared in the *Mason City (Iowa) Globe-Gazette* for March 29, 1956.

"The *Cedar Rapids Gazette* thinks the two Des Moines councilmen who are out after the city manager's scalp may be doing the cause of good government a service.

"They are driving home to the people of Des Moines and elsewhere," the editorial concludes, "that it takes an alert citizenry not only to establish good government but to maintain it once it becomes reality."

"It was our failure in this very area that resulted in the abandonment of the city manager plan in this community years ago. We yawned and neglected our responsibilities as citizens at a time when selfish interests were working their mischief."

as his ability, disposition and time permit.

His League membership card becomes his ticket for fuller citizenship in his community.

### Digging for Honors

Citizens of Canon City, Colorado, are making a determined effort to have their community selected as an "All-America City" for 1956. They turned out recently for "C-Day," devoted to park improvement work sponsored by the Citizens Advisory Committee. Over three hundred men and boys worked on the site while women and girls provided lunch. According to the *Denver Post*, contractors furnished twelve loaders, two power shovels and 50 trucks to aid in the work.

### Annual Dinner

Mayor Robert F. Wagner and eleven members of his official family answered questions concerning the city government at the 59th annual dinner of the Citizens Union of New York City. The union's William Jay Schieffelin annual award for distinguished public service was given to Police Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy.

In the course of his remarks, the mayor had this to say: "The Citizens Union has an important role to play in the future growth of New York City, as it has in the past. It is my firm opinion that one of the essential requirements of good municipal operation is the active participation of groups such as yours. As the Citizens Union approaches its 60th year, I look forward to its continued help with the problems of our city. And I can tell you, if we seem to be off the beam somewhere, George Hallett and his colleagues will let us know soon enough. I like to think that future generations will look back on us with some measure of fondness in recognition of our efforts to help create the magnificent community that we dream and talk about."

### Citizenship Conference

The Eleventh Annual National Conference on Citizenship will be held September 17-19 at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C. The conference, originally sponsored by the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association, now functions independently under a charter granted by the Congress. On the 17th it will celebrate Citizenship Day, established by Congress in 1952 to commemorate the signing of the constitution in 1787 and to honor those citizens who, during the past year, have reached voting age or have been naturalized. Theme of the conference, which will bring together many hundreds of delegates, is "The Voting Citizen."

## Industrial Location Tax Impact Cited

### More Research Needed on Finance Implication

**I**N A series of studies on current economic and sociological trends and their impact on municipal finance, Dr. Mabel Walker, executive director of the Tax Institute, has pointed out the need for additional research on the tax impact of industrial location. The studies are appearing in the institute's *Tax Policy*.<sup>1</sup>

Discussing those areas needing further research, the author comments that:

"So much has been written concerning the effect of taxes upon industry location (some of it based upon excellent studies, but much of it sheer unsubstantiated froth) that it seems amazing that there is almost nothing available concerning the effects of industrial location upon taxes. More and more items are appearing in the current press to the effect that a community badly needs industries in order to keep taxes down, so there appears to be a general belief that industrial expansion will produce higher tax yields and therefore permit a lowering of tax rates. Yet to date researchers have not been concerned with substantiation of this thesis. There is almost no information on the subject."

Later, based on her many studies on local taxation, Dr. Walker states:

"In the absence of the necessary statistical data to support a conclusion, the writer is nevertheless tempted to hazard the guess that for urban communities

substantial industrial expansion will not bring lower taxes, that instead it will result in increased demands for governmental services and consequently higher governmental expenditures, increased land values, generally increased property tax assessments and increased tax rates.

"What it seems likely to do, however, is to bring about the community prosperity that makes the higher taxes tolerable. Also, there may result a certain amount of redistribution of the property tax burden through reassessment and possible shifting of some of the burden from residences to business and industrial properties.

"This entire subject needs considerable exploration."

## Alabama Registration System Studied

An honest and efficient voter registration system is essential in a democracy if the elected officials are to be truly representative of the people. It is known in some parts of the country, particularly the south, that the registration system, by design or otherwise, leaves much to be desired. Through the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Alabama there is now available a thorough survey of the registration practices in one state which is based on careful field research. *Registration of Voters in Alabama* (135 pages), by Donald S. Strong, discusses in detail the actual administrative practices in Alabama and, in some instances, how the system is used to restrict voting rights. The study illustrates the difficulty of separating administration and policy in this area.

Professor Strong discusses the various administrative phases of voter registration and reviews the pertinent Alabama laws on the subject. He finds that in-

<sup>1</sup> See *The Plant, the Office, and the City. Part II. Industrial Location Impacts*. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, Inc., *Tax Policy*, February-March 1956, 36 pages. 75 cents.



adequate personnel is a problem throughout the state and also that archaic record-keeping practices are prevalent.

Although Alabama still has a poll tax which tends to disfranchise some prospective voters, a questionnaire prepared by the justices of the Supreme Court (as provided by a constitutional amendment ratified in 1951) has been used to disfranchise others. The justices devised 21 questions whose wording Professor Strong considers somewhat ambiguous. Although the questions could be considered to be difficult to answer by persons with limited education, the variations in practices of local registrars causes further difficulties. In some counties, the registrar will fill out the questionnaire based on oral answers, but in other counties the prospective voter must fill out his own questionnaire. To counteract the questionnaire, some Negro groups actually hold classes to instruct their fellow members on how to fill them out.

In Jefferson County (Birmingham), the local board of registrars imposes a further requirement for which there is no legal justification. In his researches, Professor Strong found that additional questions were asked of labor union members and Negroes. These questions have been collected by the CIO and Negro groups, and a list of them is included in this study. For example, the CIO list includes "What is a felony?" and the Negro list "How many members are there in the electoral college?"

One of the main stumbling blocks to an efficient registration system, according to the author, is the inadequate personnel assigned to registration duties. Because the positions are part-time and require services at irregular intervals throughout the year, there is great difficulty in securing competent persons. The three registrars of voters in each county are appointed by a state board composed of the governor, the state auditor and the commissioner of agriculture, but in

effect the positions are legislative patronage. Professor Strong considers all the local registrars to be "patriotic citizens with the welfare of the state at heart, as they interpret that welfare."

One other stumbling block is the great autonomy given local boards. Although the present situation could be considered to be the best "home rule" practice, the lack of any supervision, state or otherwise, over the local boards has resulted in great variations in local practices, as suggested above.

In his concluding chapter on ways to better registration, the author includes many suggestions. He states:

"Part-time amateur boards are poorly suited for record-keeping work, yet we are going to have boards of registrars with us for a long time so we must do everything possible to select and train the best possible registrars. Secondly, home rule will continue to be our basic practice, yet state aid and advice must be offered to boards of registrars. These contradictions should not disturb us; in politics we rarely have the neat and logical solutions we find in geometry. We must work to tap the large reservoir of potentially able registrars and get some of this able talent on the job."

### ***Bibliography on Florida's Government***

Florida has joined the growing list of states that have a central source for locating the published material on their state and local governments. The *Bibliography of Florida Government* (70 pages) was compiled by William F. Larsen and published by the University of Florida Libraries and the Public Administration Clearing Service.

### ***Filipinos Microfilm Constitution Proceedings***

The *Proceedings of the Philippine Constitutional Convention of 1934-35*, consisting of approximately 6,600 legal size

### **GRA Conference**

The Governmental Research Association has announced that among the topics to be discussed at its annual conference are urban redevelopment, metropolitan area problems, new dimensions in public health and economic development. The main theme of the conference will be "Increased opportunities for governmental research organizations. Are we equipped to fulfill our responsibilities?" The meeting will be held October 15-17 at the Westchester Country Club, Rye, New York.

pages, were microfilmed recently by the Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines. The seven-reel microfilm edition is available at \$50 from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

As reported by Professor Bennett M. Rich of Rutgers University in *Microcosm*, this significant undertaking will now make these records available for students, researchers and government officials. Microfilming the proceedings of constitutional conventions in the states that do not now have a permanent record of proceedings might well be considered, although, of course, a printed record would be more desirable.

### **With the Research Bureaus**

The Milwaukee *Journal*, commenting on the Citizens Governmental Research Bureau, recently stated in an editorial:

"Backing the bureau since its inception in 1913 have been Milwaukee businessmen whose membership and contributions have been the organization's sole support. Many of these men have worked

for and supported the bureau for several decades—repaid by the satisfaction they get from making possible a factual, non-political, professional research tool to improve local government. Milwaukee owes them much."

In announcing the appointment of an advisory committee to guide and assist the Texas Research League in its survey of Texas highways, League Chairman Ben C. Belt said: "The Committee will function as an advisory panel of Texas citizens and officials who are well informed about highway problems in this state. Its members will be called upon to test the soundness of findings and recommendations resulting from the survey. They will exercise no veto power over the conclusions reached by the league's research staff, nor will they be expected to bear responsibility for what finally goes into the survey report. It is expected, however, that their practical knowledge of Texas highway and transportation problems will help the league to produce a set of sound proposals for meeting and financing future highway needs in our rapidly growing state."

### **With the Legislative Agencies**

The Minnesota Legislative Research Committee has commenced publication of a newsletter, *Biennium Bits*. It contains a calendar of events of interest to legislators, summaries of state supreme court decisions and attorney general opinions, and Minnesota and out-of-state news.

The Illinois Legislative Council reports that in fiscal year 1955, it completed 392 research reports and memoranda, including fourteen studies in its bulletin and general publication series. The latter are the more comprehensive research studies turned out by the Illinois agency. The report indicates that the volume of work has been steadily increasing since establishment of the council in 1938.

# Books in Review

## *The Political 'Boss'*

THE LAST HURRAH. By Edwin O'Connor. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1956. 427 pp. \$4.00.

Any review of a political novel for a professional magazine, of necessity, must be a mixed one. First, as a veteran of Chicago politics I could not help but comment on the fidelity with which the author has captured the life and times of a "machine" political leader, in this case a Mr. Skeffington—the perhaps fictitious Boston politician (and mayor) who is the central character of the book. The author quite obviously, and perhaps properly, leaves his reader with a nostalgia for the "humanness" of such a leader. He calls to mind an article this reviewer once wrote entitled "Why Reformers Fail." The book also recalls the colorful friends, usually political foes, who still grace Chicago's city council.

One can hardly miss the strong suggestion that political leaders must have a little understanding of human nature and a liking for great varieties of people—all of which were qualities of Mr. Skeffington. As the author implies, it is the lack of this human quality in some "reform" movements that too often drives voters into the opposition camp.

But, second, those of us who have been interested in municipal government from its organizational as well as its human side, should note but would not, I hope, agree that the downfall of big-city political machines was due solely to the New Deal social welfare program, as Skeffington's biographer suggests. This is not only an exaggeration; it is somehow grossly misleading. And it implies quite falsely, this reviewer believes, that political machines (which are perversions of honest party machinery for private gain or aggrandizement, in my lingo) can't spring up again. On the contrary, I would suggest all they need is sufficient,

or perhaps more accurately, large-scale apathy.

But mostly, *The Last Hurrah* is meant to be a good story. And that it is. The assortment of characters, the description of a political campaign (election night excluded) all ring straight and true. The hangers-on, the confidants, the enemies, even the lonesomeness of the candidate, all are faithfully portrayed. Skeffington unquestionably is a dinosaur of American politics, as I see it, but as a self-made political leader—and boss—he typified an era. Even if it weren't the interesting reading it is, this portrait of an era would make *The Last Hurrah* worthwhile.

To those who like to find a moral in every story, may I simply suggest that this book reminds us—if indeed we need be reminded—that government and politics are designed to serve human beings, of whom there are all kinds in this great land of ours.

ROBERT E. MERRIAM

Washington, D. C.

## *Georgia Government*

THE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGIA. By Cullen B. Gossnell and C. David Anderson. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956. xix, 403 pp. \$4.95.

This is the sixth volume in the American Commonwealths Series, edited by W. Brooke Graves, and essentially follows the organization and format of all but one of the other studies.<sup>1</sup> In their conclusions on state and local government in Georgia, the authors state that "When one looks over the past several years, it is easy to see that great progress has been made in Georgia government," and

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, February 1955, page 72, for a review of the volumes on New York, Florida, Mississippi and Wyoming; January 1956, page 43, for a review of that on North Carolina.

that "Georgia is assured of a bright future."

Nevertheless, the authors point out several aspects needing improvement. Some of the specific suggestions are: "The constitution contains entirely too much legislation and should be briefer." "There is now an urgent need for drastic reorganization of the administrative system of state government." The merit system should be removed from politics. Legislative reapportionment is needed and the number of legislative committees should be reduced. A legislative council should be established and legislative compensation should be increased. "The creation of so many authorities to finance such projects as school buildings, bridges and highways should be investigated with the view toward limiting such practices."

In regard to local governments, the authors recommend that the number of counties be reduced from 159 to 50. Home rule should be extended to both counties and cities. And there should be widespread adoption of the manager plan by cities and counties.

S.K.G.

### **Zoning and Planning**

**THE LAW OF ZONING AND PLANNING.** (Third edition, two volumes.) By Charles A. Rathkopf and Arden H. Rathkopf. New York, Clark Boardman Company, and Albany, Matthews Bender & Company, 1956. 956 and 939 pp. respectively. \$42.50.

This is the third edition of a comprehensive legal reference on planning and zoning, the work having last been revised in 1949. The two-volume edition, which contains more than 14,000 citations to court decisions and excerpts from 1,100 decisions, is divided into 83 chapters covering every phase of the field. The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the distinction between planning and zoning. Another is concerned with planning in New York State, al-

though the material in the other chapters pertains to the over-all picture. The last two sections are devoted to legal forms and municipal ordinances. The text of New York City's zoning resolution, parts of the Los Angeles zoning ordinance and the suggested text of a zoning ordinance for a village and town are included.

S.K.G.

## **Additional Books and Pamphlets**

### **Assessment**

**REASSESSMENT OF PROPERTY FOR TAX PURPOSES.** Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Service Bulletin*, April 16, 1956. 9 pp.

### **Budgeting**

**BUDGETARY AND FISCAL ACCOUNTING IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.** By H. R. Balls. Toronto 2B (Ontario), Canadian Tax Foundation, *Canadian Tax Journal*, January-February and March-April, 1956. 10 and 8 pp. respectively. **NEEDED! EFFECTIVE STATE BUDGETING IN MISSOURI.** Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1956. 8 pp.

### **City-County Consolidation**

**A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT CITY-COUNTY CONSOLIDATION.** Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, *TRA Journal*, Winter 1956. 12 pp.

### **Civic Centers**

**CIVIC CENTER.** Detroit (Michigan), City Plan Commission, 1956. 13 pp.

### **Civil Defense**

**LEADERSHIP GUIDE.** National Civil Defense Week September 9-15, 1956. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1956. 36 pp.

### **Civil Liberties**

**THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW.** A Report on Government News Suppression. By Allen Raymond. New York,

The American Civil Liberties Union, 1955. 48 pp. 35 cents.

### **Community Development**

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. By Louis M. Miniclier. Washington, D. C., Foreign Operations Administration, Community Development Division, 1955. 25 pp.

### **Conservation**

ANNUAL REPORT OF JOSEPH E. McLEAN, COMMISSIONER OF CONSERVATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1954-55. Trenton 25 (New Jersey), The Department, 1955. xvi, 101 pp. Illus.

### **Constitutions**

NEW HAMPSHIRE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS. Concord, New Hampshire State Library, Legislative Service, 1956. 52 pp.

### **Federal Reorganization**

THE HOOVER REPORT 1953-1955. What It Means to You as Citizen and Taxpayer. By Neil MacNeil and Harold W. Metz. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. viii, 344 pp. \$6.00.

### **Franchises**

FRANCHISES IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. By Ernest H. Campbell. Seattle 5, University of Washington Press, 1956. 160 pp. \$2.00.

### **Highway Legislation**

HIGHWAY LEGISLATION IN 1955. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1956. 25 pp. \$1.50.

### **Home Rule**

WHERE'S HOME RULE? A Survey of Developments in Rhode Island Cities and Towns Since Home Rule Amendment Was Adopted in 1951. (Reprinted from Providence *Journal-Bulletin*.) By Joseph A. Kelly. Providence, the *Journal-Bulletin*, January 1956. 15 pp.

### **Intergovernmental Relations**

FLINT AND MICHIGAN: A STUDY IN INTERDEPENDENCE. By Thelma F. Bat-

ten. Ann Arbor, State of Michigan, Publications Distribution Service, 1955. 68 pp. \$1.00.

### **Interstate Cooperation**

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE EXCHANGE OF LEGISLATIVE SERVICE PUBLICATIONS. Chicago 37, National Association of Legislative Service Agencies, 1955. 8 pp.

### **Legislative Budget Agency**

THE FUNCTION AND OPERATION OF A LEGISLATIVE FISCAL AGENCY. By Paul W. Ellis. Olympia, Washington Legislative Auditor, 1955. 8 pp.

### **Legislative Printing**

IMPROVING LEGISLATIVE PRINTING. To Help Our Legislators Read and Understand Over 4,000 Bills a Year. An Analysis of a Major Problem and a Suggested Solution. Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Association, 1956. 20 pp. Illus.

### **Libraries**

THE STATE AND PUBLICLY SUPPORTED LIBRARIES. Structure and Control at the State Level. By Fred F. Beach, Ralph M. Dunbar and Robert F. Will. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1956. 91 pp. 55 cents. (Apply U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

### **Local Officials**

1956-57 CALENDAR OF DUTIES FOR COUNTY OFFICIALS. 1956-57 CALENDAR OF DUTIES FOR CITY OFFICIALS. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1956. 12 pp. each. 50 cents each.

### **Management**

THE OFFICE: ITS CHANGING FUNCTIONS AND STRUCTURE—With a Paper on Management as a Universal Language. IMPROVING OFFICE REPORTS, MANUALS AND RECORDS—With a Paper on Office Communication. CONTROLLING OFFICE

**PRODUCTION — Methods — Machines — Systems.** New York, American Management Association, 1955. 44, 54 and 63 pp. respectively. \$1.75 each.

#### **Municipal Incorporation**

**SIGNIFICANCE OF CITY INCORPORATION OF UNINCORPORATED AREAS.** Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Technical Topics*, December 20, 1955. 19 pp.

#### **Neighborhoods**

**BLUEPRINT FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CONSERVATION.** A Program for Large-scale Elimination of Slum, Blight and Unfit Housing Conditions. Washington 6, D. C., National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1956. 48 pp.

#### **Parking**

**PARKING AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS TO BUSINESS.** By J. T. Stegmaier. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, May 1956. 8 pp. \$1.00.

**WHAT PARKING MEANS TO BUSINESS.** Washington 6, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1955. 60 pp. \$1.00. Illus.

#### **Planning**

**THE BRITISH NEW TOWNS POLICY. Problems and Implications.** By Lloyd Rodwin. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 1956. xiii, 252 pp. \$7.50.

**HOW SHALL WE GROW?** Charleston (South Carolina), Charleston County Planning Board, 1956. 84 pp. Illus. \$1.00.

**METROPOLITAN PLANNING.** A Research Report. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, City Planning Division, 1955. 24 pp.

#### **Presidential Primary**

**SPECIFICATIONS FOR A MODEL STATE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY LAW.** By Paul T. David. Washington 6, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1956. 6 pp.

#### **Public Administration—Foreign**

**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN LATIN AMERICA.** Opportunities for Progress

Through Technical Cooperation. A Report to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Accordance with Resolution 49/53. Submitted by the Public Administration Clearing House August 31, 1955. Washington 6, D. C., Inter-American Economic and Social Council, Pan American Union, 1955. 79 pp. \$1.00.

#### **Public Employment**

**EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN MICHIGAN STATE GOVERNMENT 1941-1955.** Lansing, Michigan Department of Administration, 1956. 14 pp. Tables.

#### **Public Opinion**

**THE ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL PARTIES.** A Report of a Conference Held at the University of Michigan, April 28-30, 1955, Under the Auspices of the Department of Political Science. By John P. White. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1956. 28 pp.

#### **Recreation**

**BOSTON'S RECREATION NEEDS.** Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, 1955. 100 pp.

#### **Registration**

**VOTER REGISTRATION IN GEORGIA.** A Study of Its Administration. By Olive H. Shadgett. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. 64 pp. \$1.50.

#### **Research**

**Current Legal Research Projects and Allied Activities.** (Supplement B to Publication No. 1.) Chicago 37, American Bar Research center, 1955. 59 pp. \$1.00.

#### **Salaries**

**SALARY RATES OF OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES IN 193 OREGON CITIES.** Eugene, University of Oregon, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, in cooperation with the League of Oregon Cities, 1956. 27 pp.



## Ridley Retires as ICMA Chief

Dr. Clarence E. Ridley, often referred to as "Mr. City Manager" because of his leadership in developing the profession of city management, retired June 30 after 27 years as executive director of the International City Managers' Association.



Clarence E. Ridley

He served two terms as a member of the National Municipal League's governing Council and as a member of various League committees.

Dr. Ridley "made a tremendous contribution towards instilling in managers the philosophy, attitudes and idealism of a young and rapidly growing profession," according to Russell E. McClure, president of the association.

Beginning his career as a city engineer, Dr. Ridley turned to Columbia University for graduate study in public administration before becoming a city manager in 1921. After four years he took up teaching and additional graduate study at Syracuse University, later serving as staff engineer of the Institute of Public Administration before his selection in 1929 as executive director of the association.

The association has enjoyed steady and impressive growth during Dr. Ridley's administration not only in numerical and financial strength but also in effective service to city managers and other public officials. The services established under his direction include the authoritative *Municipal Year Book*, the Management Information Service through which municipal officials re-

ceive immediate information and advice on management problems, a series of management manuals for on-the-job training and correspondence courses.

In addition to other activities, Dr. Ridley served for many years as vice chairman of both Public Administration Service and the American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation.

## Childs to Assist Study of Courts

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, has been appointed to a new 35-member Committee on the Structure of the Courts for the City of New York. He will represent the Citizens Union, a local civic organization.

The committee, under the chairmanship of Allen T. Klots, president of the Association of the Bar in New York, was appointed by Mayor Robert F. Wagner to examine the nine court systems with 280 judges, 182 of whom are elected on party tickets where nomination by the dominant party is tantamount to election.

First business of the new committee will be to consider the proposals scheduled to be submitted in July by a statewide Temporary Commission on the Courts.

## At Washington Session

League Executive Director Alfred Willoughby attended a meeting in June of the Census Advisory Committee on State and Local Government Statistics held in Washington.



Richard S. Childs

## 4 Correspondents Added to REVIEW

Four new state correspondents have been added recently to the staff of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

William A. Grelle, director of the Bureau of State and Community Service, University of Colorado Extension



McGregor



Rich

Division, succeeds D. Mack Easton, dean of the Extension Division.

Robert H. McGregor, director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Department of Internal Affairs, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, succeeds Harold F. Alderfer, who is now assistant commissioner for operations of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Urban Renewal Administration, Washington.



Steimel



Grelle

Bennett M. Rich, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, Rutgers University, succeeds James W. McGrew, now research director of the Texas Research League, as New Jersey correspondent.

Edward J. Steimel, executive director of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, succeeds the late Kimbrough Owen.

## Reid Addresses Planners

Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs of The Ford Motor Company and regional vice president of the National Municipal League, spoke recently in Detroit before the Michigan Society of Planning Officials on "The Community's Take Home Pay."

## Memphis Conference

(Continued from page 317)

Improvement of state government, with consideration of recent findings by the national Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the American Assembly on the Forty-eight States and the "Little American Assemblies" currently being conducted regionally,

State responsibility for encouraging local initiative and home rule,

The state's role in local economic and industrial development,

Experience and ideas of businessmen and other citizens in constructive political activity,

University training for practical politics,

Civic programs within industrial plants,

A youth in civic affairs program with a panel composed chiefly of outstanding Memphis high school students,

In cooperation with the American Judicature Society, there will be a session on the selecting of judges.

Spokesmen for the 22 finalists in the All-America Cities awards will be heard Monday and Tuesday afternoons by a jury of twelve leading citizens and authorities on government under the foremanship of Dr. George H. Gallup, League president.

# Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

## Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1955).....	\$ .20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three.....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1955).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1955).....	.05
P. R., [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955).....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953).....	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953).....	.75
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)	

## Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953).....	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation.).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1955).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953).....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954).....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954).....	1.00

## Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952).....	3.50
Coroners in 1955—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1955).....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1955).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952).....	.75
Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 448 pages (1954)....	4.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954).....	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE- VIEW), 12 pages (1953).....	.25
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955).....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954).....	.35

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Emphasis on state and regional planning, stimulated by the Housing Act of 1954, which provides federal assistance for regional planning and for planning in cities of 25,000 population or less, continues. Aid to these cities, however, must be funnelled through state planning agencies. Some states lack such agencies. Many communities may therefore be unable to qualify.

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